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# Near East/South Asia Report

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30 APRIL 1986

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ALGERIA

LOAN AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH WORLD BANK

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 18 Mar 86 p 3

[Article by F. H.]

[Text] Algeria has just signed a new agreement with the World Bank for a loan of \$262 million to finance several major water projects in Oran and Constantine wilayas.

The signing ceremony took place yesterday at the Finance Ministry; attending were Abdelaziz Khellef, a member of the Central Committee, the finance minister, and Algeria's ambassador to Washington, Mohamed Sahnoun.

The projects, which have been in the planning stages for nearly 2 years, are part of a development program for the two regions mentioned. The primary goal is to expand utilization of their water resources. This would meet both local consumers' needs and those of agriculture and industry. It should be noted that an identical project was approved and financed by the World Bank in 1978 and 1984 for cleaning up and supplying drinking water to the city of Algiers at an estimated cost of \$290 million. As a consequence, the Oran Region stands to benefit by construction of a barrage and reservoir and a pumping and water-treatment plant. The reservoir will have a capacity of 221,000 cubic meters per year. The rising and disparate needs of the region have also led to reconstruction of some portions of the distribution system. Feeder conduits between the barrage and the treatment and pumping station are also called for. In addition, given the nature of this water, a demineralization plant is planned on the dam-site.

In Constantine, where several water projects are under construction, there is to be a water catchment, treatment, and transport installation. About 80,000 cubic meters of drinking water will be drawn from Rhummel and Hahhah Bouziane reserves. The partly rebuilt distribution system will be completely restored. Conduits will also be laid to transport waste water for use in agriculture. Yesterday's agreement also provides for financial help to regional water-management authorities, a training program, and supplies of operating equipment for the latter, plus a series of feasibility studies on future projects.

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ALGERIA

WAYS TO INCREASE FARM PRODUCTION DISCUSSED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 13 Mar 86 p 5

[Article by special correspondent S.M. Haouili]

[Text] Jasdi Merbah, alternate member of the Political Bureau and minister of agriculture and fisheries, presided a meeting after a tour of inspection and work in Bordj-Bou-Arreidj wilaya.

Following the report submitted by the wilaya's agricultural director, Kasdi Merbah noted that "Bordj-Bou-Arredij had put forth considerable effort, which had yielded visible and promising results." True, in the space of a single year, production in the agricultural sector reached 77 percent. That rising curve may be explained by the interest local officials have devoted to the sector, given the fact that Bordj-Bou-Arreidj is a farming settlement.

Accordingly, as the various participants in the meeting made their remarks, several pending questions were brought to the minister's attention. Among the more important we might cite those relating to the level of vegetable and animal production by the DAS, the shortage of equipment for removing stones, the delivery of feed to the poultry units, the lack of transport for veterinarians, and the still inadequate level of farm machinery.

In his remarks, Kasdi Merbah emphasized the need to raise yields of cereal grains and dried vegetables to meet the maximum capacity of storage facilities, and the need for orderly utilization of means and factors of production to handle steadily increasing yields. The figures given by the managers of farms and farm production units showed a marked improvement in the size of yields. The minister pointed out, however, that "voluntary efforts must be made to satisfy the demand for food, which is the only way to protect ourselves from the fallout of the economic crisis."

In reply to participants' complaints, Kashi Merbah said, among other things: "We must move ahead with the vegetable and animal production effort, by increasing yields of cereal grains and

vegetables for drying on the one hand, and on the other, by satisfying the national demand for red and white meat. That target absolutely must be met if we are to produce all the food we need, and so become self-sufficient.

Kasdi Merbah underscored the point that "the potential for vegetable and animal production is already adequate to develop the agricultural sector, which, now more than ever, must become a profit-making sector."

Emphasizing the need for providing cadres in the animal production systems, Kasdi Merbah noted that the improvement goals for beef and mutton production will be reached by means of three specific programs, one of them the steppe program designed to provide efficient organization of sheep-raising according to modern standards; the second, intensifying sheep- and cattle-raising in the areas that produce cereal grains; the third, the care and fattening of the sheep and cattle herds.

Kasdi Merbah also noted that "this year there will be a program of bull-calf imports, with the twofold aim of enhancing the national potential for producing red meats and of creating new job opportunities in the primary sector."

The minister went on to add that a complete program to improve handling and keeping red and white meats has been devised so as to encourage sheep-, cattle-, poultry- and bee-raising.

Kasdi Merbah then announced that, despite a slight improvement in 1984-1985, efforts at expanding the sector must be pursued and stepped up more than ever so as to achieve an agricultural growth-rate that will be lasting and real, rather than defenseless in the face of economic fluctuations.

Along much the same lines, Kasdi Merbah urged local leaders to cut back as far as possible on acreage allowed to lie fallow.

"Those lands," he said, "are anything but negligible assets, as well as a powerful growth-promoting factor in agricultural production in the units."

The minister dwelt as well on the need to step up production of dried legumes by planting more farm acreage suitable for such crops, noting that "As of now, the acreage devoted to dried legumes is minimal," he said, calling on local leaders to bring all potentially productive land under cultivation.

"We must increase the acreage set aside for legumes so as to raise the volume of production of this source of nourishment and put an end to imports of dried legumes, and thereby free up the money we spend on them for increasing our equipment and thus to mechanize and modernize our productive capacities," he said.

Turning to livestock production, Kasdi Merbah stressed improvement and expansion in red and white meat production, as well as in dairy products, through updated systems for managing and maintaining our beef-cattle and sheep herds, our poultry flocks, and our bee-keeping operations, since honey is a product that ought to be given far more attention.

"We must see to it that our imports of cereal grains and dried legumes are cut to the bone, so as to use what financial means we have to generate our own national wealth; that would include construction of factories to turn out farm machinery or finished or semi-finished industrial products," said the minister, in closing his working visit with the Bordj Bou-Arreridj wilaya leaders.

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IRAQ

FRG FIRMS INVOLVED IN IRRIGATION, ELECTRICAL PROJECTS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ZEITUNG/BLICK DURCH DIE WIRTSCHAFT in German  
14 Feb 86 p ]

[Article: "Big Dams Going Up in Iraq; German Firms Participate in Several Irrigation and Power Projects"]

[Text] Frankfurt--High priority has been assigned in Iraq to the construction of dams with associated power plants and to the expansion and new creation of irrigated agricultural land. Although no end is in sight for the war with Iran and the economy is under heavy pressure, the Iraqi Government is spending considerable financial resources on dam building and on the development of irrigated areas. Financing often takes place with foreign aid, with which advances for the projects are made. Firms from the Federal Republic of Germany have been favored to a rather large extent in the awarding of contracts for carrying out the projects.

This is especially true of the construction of the large Saddam dam on the Tigris 60 kilometers north of Mosul, completion of which is expected in June 1986. It will serve for flood control, irrigation and power generation. Its storage capacity is to amount to some 11.1 billion cubic meters of water. A German-Italian consortium, including Hochtief Corp of Essen, Ed. Zueblin Corp of Stuttgart, Dr Ing Trapp and Co Construction Ltd of Wesel and the Cogefar, Italstrade and Impregilo firms received the contract for the construction of the dam (3,000 meters long, 100 meters high) with subsidiary installations, as well as 3 associated power plants.

The power generation installations consist of a hydroelectric plant with an installed capacity of 750 megawatts, a pump-fed plant with cavern and tunnel and a regulating plant (60 megawatts). The contract value for the consortium amounts overall to around 3 billion marks, of which one-third falls to the lead firm, Hochtief Corp Ed. Zueblin Corporation's share comes to around 500 million marks. The contracts for delivering and installing power-plant equipment went to the Japanese firm Toshiba, the Italian Gruppo Industrie Elettromeccaniche per Impianti All' Estero [Electrical Equipment Industry Group for Plants Abroad] (GIE) of Milan, the Austrian Elin-Union Corp for Vienna and J. M. Voith.

A rainfall-tillage area in the Mosul region is to be converted to irrigation from the Saddam dam, in order to raise yields by 5- to 10-fold. The project

in question, called Jazira, has been divided into norther, southern and eastern areas. The Chinese construction firm China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC) received a 193-million-dollar contract for the conversion of the eastern part, for which the Dutch firm Nedeco of Amersfoort had undertaken the planning. The contract includes the installation of a 60-kilometer-long main canal, of a canal running parallel, and of drainage and irrigation systems over a 60,000-hectare area. The South Korean [name omitted] Corporation booked a 70-million-dollar contract for delivery and installation of the central pumping station. The studies for the southern area have been completed. The planning for a 32,500-hectare section were carried out by a group of Swiss engineering-consultant firms under the leadership of Motor Columbus Corp and the Dutch Haskoning firm. The Spanish consulting-engineer firm Tecniberia undertook the preparation of studies for the eastern area (74,000 hectares) in the Mosul-Shaikan-Hamdanya region. In the southwest, planning for the expansion of an already existing irrigated area of almost 100,000 hectares to around 300,000 hectares was carried out by the French firm Sogreah of Grenoble.

In addition, the large Qadisiya (Haditha) Dam on the Euphrates, northwest of Baghdad will be completed this year. The Soviet state enterprise Technopromexport had been contracted to build it. The dam's storage capacity will amount to some 8 to 10 billion cubic meters of water, and the new reservoir will extend over a 410-square-kilometer area. A power plant having 6 110-megawatt machine complexes is associated with the dam. The Yugoslavian firm Hidrogradnja received the 570-million-dollar contract for building and equipping the power plant. Siemens Corp of Munich and Berlin was entrusted with the delivery of a 420-kilovolt high-tension switching layout.

In the spring of 1985, construction of the Fallouja Dam, on the Euphrates below the Qadisiya Dam, was completed. From here water supply for the Abu Gharib agricultural project is regulated. The latter extends over a 273,000-hectare area.

On the Euphrates some 80 kilometers south of Baghdad, again, the Hindiya Dam is being erected, from which an agricultural area of some 675,000 hectares will be irrigated. The cultivated area will be supplied with 2,500 cubic meters of water per second by a canal system. In October 1984, the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC), mentioned above, received the 223-million-dollar contract for completing the project. The new Hindiya Dam replaces an old dam built in 1913, from which the existing cultivated area has until now been irrigated.

The CCECC firm was also entrusted with the construction of 4 dams on the Euphrates tributaries Kufa and Shamyia. The 174-million-dollar contract was awarded in 1984. This project is to secure the water supply for the Kifl-Shinafiya irrigation project (90,000 hectares). The Philipp Holzmann Corp of Frankfurt signed a contract with the Chinese state construction firm for planning studies, and also a contract for deliveries in connection with this project.

Besides smaller future projects, 3 large projects are especially noteworthy, consisting first of the construction of the Bekme Dam on the Greater Zab, a

tributary of the Tigris, in the northeast of the country; secondly, of the Badush Dam on the Tigris some 20 kilometers below the new Saddam Dam; and thirdly, of the Fatha Dam on the Tigris, north of Baji between the Djebel Makhal and Djebel Hamrin ridges.

The request for proposals for construction of the Bekme Dam was issued in the spring of 1985. It is to cost some 1.5 billion dollars. The storage capacity is stated to be 40 to 50 billion cubic meters of water. The associated power plant is to have an installed capacity of some 1,500 megawatts. At the same time, an international competition was also held for the construction of the Badush Dam. The latter is to serve primarily for flood control. An installed capacity of 120 megawatts is planned for the associated power plant. No request-for-proposal documents are as yet available for the Fatha Dam. Studies for this project were prepared by a group of Swiss engineering-consultant firms.

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ISRAEL

ISRAEL'S ARMS SALES POLICY REVIEWED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 12 Mar 86 p 7

[Article by Reuven Pedatzur, Military Correspondent, "HA'ARETZ"]

[English translation provided by Government Press Office]

[Text] In the past three years, Israel's defense industry has been faced with numerous difficulties, thereby bringing about a situation in which everything related to arms exports -- which, experts estimate, account for nearly one-quarter of all Israeli industrial exports -- Israel is at a standstill, perhaps even in a regression. This only strengthens the need to hold a substantive public debate on the subject. An analysis of the activities of the various Israel governments in the sphere of arms exports gives rise to doubt as to whether substantive discussions were ever held in a governmental framework aimed at shaping Israel's arms sales policy. A suitable framework for a political and public discussion is provided by a recently published book by Aaron S. Klieman: "Israel's Global Reach: Arms Sales As Diplomacy," 1985.

Professor Klieman places arms exporting countries in four different categories. The two world powers and France are found in the 'A' league. Britain, Germany and Italy are in the 'B' league. Israel is in the third league, along with Brazil, South Korea, South Africa, Taiwan, Pakistan, Japan and China.

Due to the secrecy which surrounds arms sales, it's difficult to pinpoint Israel's place in the list of world arms suppliers. Three research institutes are closely following developments in the international arms market: The Sipri Institute in Stockholm, the London-based I.I.S.S., and the Arms Control Agency in Washington.

Based on the reports of these institutes, Israel is situated between 15th and 18th on the list of countries selling arms. The flourishing period for Israeli arms sales was at the beginning of the 1980's. Israel sold approximately \$1.5 billion dollars-worth of arms annually. There has been a falloff in the past two years, and it's likely that today it hovers around the \$1 billion dollar mark. It bears noting that these estimates don't include arms sales to China which the foreign press has been reporting.

While Israel was leading all third world countries in the mid-1970's, this trend has been braked in the present decade and countries such as Brazil, South Korea and South Africa have passed Israel.

During the growth period of the defense industries in Israel, in the previous decade, it seemed that two economic establishments were being run simultaneously -- one was backward and problematic while the other, the arms industry establishment, was efficiently built and functioning, and in the forefront of world technology. However, in recent years it's become clear that the second establishment can no longer enjoy this welcome independence. The impact of the general establishment left its mark. The halting of economic growth also directly affected the arms industry.

The cut in the defense budget greatly reduced defense establishment and IDF orders from Defense plants. The reduction in orders from the local market, besides causing substantial economic difficulties, is spurring defense plant managers to try and upscale exports.

One of the basic conditions for success in the export of Israeli weapons is pinpointing the sectors in the world arms market in which Israel has a relative advantage. Success can only be generated by concentrating efforts in a defined direction.

Four possible courses of action are open to Israel:

- \* Marketing light weapons such as the Uzi submachine gun and the "Gaili" rifle.
- \* Basic army-defense equipment such as uniforms, knapsacks, field equipment such as tents, and communications systems.
- \* Advanced subsystems: avionic systems for planes, electro-optical equipment, missiles such as the "Gabriel," and so on. It's also possible to include in this sphere the sale of knowhow and technology developed in Israel.
- \* The production and marketing of main weapons systems: the Kfir Plane, the Merkava Tank and Missile Boats.

To date Israel's activity has been characterized by diversity in the types of weapons sold and in the list of clients, according to Professor Klieman -- from the United States to the "club of ostracized countries" -- South Africa, Taiwan, Zaire, Argentina, Chile, Somoza's Nicaragua and Khomeini's Iran. Developments in the international arms market and changes which have taken place in the Israeli market obligate a renewed consideration of the state attitude towards dispersing the efforts of Israel's arms industry.

In the first two planes of action (light weapons and basic military-defense equipment), Israel competes with third world countries that enjoy geographical advantages (proximity to clients) or the ability to sell at lower prices. Thus, Singapore is producing a rifle similar in design to the "Galil," but



cheaper to buy. So, too, with Brazil, where the cost of producing weapons is lower than in Israel. If to this we add the fact that selling light weapons or basic equipment doesn't bring in great sums of money, it would seem that additional investments in these spheres are liable to go down the drain, or at the least will not bring about the desired results.

Israel faces three principal obstacles on the fourth plane of action (marketing main weapons systems). One is political. A considerable number of the weapons systems contain American components, and selling them to a third party requires approval by the U.S. Government.

Another obstacle is diplomatic: it's very difficult to conceal a tank or a warplane. For many of the clients, secrecy represents one of the conditions for carrying out arms deals. There are many countries which can't allow Israeli planes to be seen in their own military airfields.

The third obstacle is economic. The competitors in the main weapons systems market are countries in the 'A' or 'B' league. The Americans, French, British, Germans and Italians are also looking to sell warplanes, tanks and missile boats. But these countries have advantages, such as providing credit to their clients and allowing for a floating price so as to tempt their customers. It appears that Israel isn't capable, in general, of succeeding in such competition.

Thus, the third plane of action remains as the potential most promising for Israel. In the development of weapons subsystems related to advanced technology, Israel still has certain advantages. The operation experience which the air force has accumulated enables sophisticated industry in Israel to develop and produce new and advanced airborne systems, so, too in the naval sphere where the greatest success is the Gabriel Missile, with sales of some \$1 billion.

It therefore appears that a decision must be taken at the government echelon to concentrate efforts on research, development and manufacture of advanced arms subsystems. Dispersing efforts and resources across other planes of action which will affect the ability to ensure constant invitation in the area of subsystems. The main danger is to stand in place. Past experience proves that great importance attaches to establishing primacy, since this also creates a gap of some years over other competitors. Thus, for example, Israel was the first to develop and produce the Drone, which brought about its lead in selling Drone systems abroad, including to the U.S.

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OMAN

## DEVELOPMENT PLANNING IN OMAN REPORTED

Beirut AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 25 Feb 86 pp 10-13

[Article by E. Baroudi]

[Text] On December 30th, 1985, Oman's third five-year development plan covering the period from 1986 to 1990 was ratified by Sultan Qaboos bin Said. The launching of the new plan came at the end of what was described as a momentous year in which Oman hosted the sixth annual meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) heads of state.

Two weeks later, in mid-November, it celebrated its fifteenth national day. The two occasions, coming so close together, provided an appropriate and convenient backdrop for Oman to show off the results of its development efforts to date and to declare to the world and to its Gulf neighbours that it had "come of age".

Oman also made an important turnaround in its foreign policy in 1985. After acquiring a reputation as the most anti-Soviet Gulf state, it took what to some was the surprising step of establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. This move was undoubtedly calculated to improve Oman's safety margins in the face of two possible threats; namely, any possible spillover from the Iran-Iraq war and a renewal of enmity with South Yemen. In spite of the recent bloody overthrow of Ali Nasser Mohammed's regime in South Yemen and in spite of the current escalation in the Gulf war, these two threats seem relatively remote at the present time.

Like its Gulf neighbours, Oman's development in the last fifteen years was based on oil which today continues to account for around 98 percent of its export revenue. Oil exports started in 1967 and attained a level of 121.3 million barrels a year by 1970.

From an average of 105.5 million barrels a year between 1971 and 1974, exports averaged 127.1 million barrels a year in 1975-1977, dropping again to 105 million barrels a year in 1979-1980. Since 1981, oil exports have been on the rise again. They reached an estimated 160 million barrels in 1985, or an average of 448,000 b/d.

Oman is not an Opec member. While production in the other Gulf countries was restricted to varying degrees by Opec production quotas (first introduced in 1983), Oman was able to increase its oil output quietly and consistently throughout the early eighties.

To a large extent, this increase in production was made possible through an intensive exploration effort which has resulted in the upgrading of oil reserves from 2.48 billion barrels in 1981 to 4 billion barrels by 1985. Between 1981 and February 1985, seven new oil concessions, covering a total area of 156,652 square kilometres, were awarded in territory relinquished by Petroleum Development Oman (PDO). Concessions awarded went to Amoco, Elf Aqu-

Table 1  
Oil production and exports

Year	Production (mn barrels)	Exports (mn barrels)
1970	121.3	121.3
1975	124.6	124.9
1976	133.7	134.3
1977	124.1	122.0
1978	114.8	115.6
1979	107.7	107.5
1980	103.7	102.0
1981	119.8	120.0
1982	122.6	118.8
1983	141.9	128.6
1984	152.4	135.0
1985*	-	154.0

\* Estimate Source: Central Bank of Oman,  
Annual Report, 1984

taine, Japan Petroleum Exploration, Japan Petroleum Development, North Sea Resources (Offshore) and British Petroleum.

Three additional concessions are scheduled to be awarded early in 1986. They will cover a total area of 7,500 square kilometres. The largest oil concession in Oman, covering an onshore area of 129,000 square kilometres is held by PDO, originally a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company. In 1974, share holdings in PDO became as follows: Oman government (60%), Shell (34%), CFP (4%) and Partex (2%).

The long-term target is to raise the output ceiling to 1 million b/d, though it is not clear when and if this target can be attained. For the short term, oil revenue in 1985 exceeded \$4 billion and the production target for 1986 was originally set at around 500,000 b/d. In view of recent developments in the oil market, however, it is not certain that even this target will be met. In the past, Oman had no problem marketing its oil exports, particularly that the size of these exports hardly makes a dent in total world oil supplies. But the current oil glut is perhaps a different story.

One thing is certain. Oil revenue in 1986 will be appreciably less than in the last two years since Oman does not have the surplus production capacity that would allow it to try to offset the fall in the oil price through increased production. Thus, even if the 1986 production target is attained, and assuming that the oil price stabilises at an average of \$18 a barrel over the year (which seems unlikely at the present time), oil revenue in 1986 will be around \$2.9 billion or around 27 percent less than the 1985 level.

This expected fall in Oman's oil revenue has important implications for the third five-year plan, particularly if it continues beyond 1986. The oil price drop has already forced the Sultanate to devalue its currency by 10 percent in January. The growth rate of the Omani economy could slow down in coming years relative to what was achieved under the first and second five-year plans.

### Development planning

The first, albeit tentative, step towards development planning in Oman was made in the late 1960s when the Development Council was

established. The council was replaced soon after by a Department of Development and Planning which again was replaced by the Provisional Planning Council. In 1972, it was reorganised into the Higher Council for Development and Economic Planning. A year later, this council was again merged into the newly established General Development Authority which, later in the year, became a Ministry of Planning. In 1974, this ministry was annulled and its responsibilities distributed among various other ministries. The ministry's planning functions were entrusted to the Planning Council which was also set up in that year.

The Planning Council, headed by Sultan Qaboos, has been responsible for drawing up and overseeing the implementation of Oman's development plans. Overall development planning goals and objectives have been generally similar to those in neighbouring Gulf states. They include diversifying the economy to lessen dependence on the oil sector, building up a modern infrastructure, encouraging the growth of the private sector, education and man-power training and modernising and streamlining the government administration.

However, unlike the other Gulf states (with the possible exception of Saudi Arabia), Oman has a traditional agricultural economy proper. Thus, a lot of attention has been given to agriculture and the development of water resources.

The first five-year plan, covering the period from 1976 to 1980, had two basic targets. First, the development of non-oil sectors to compensate for an expected 8.7 percent fall in value added in the oil sector because of a projected decline in production. Second, achieving an average annual growth rate in GDP at current prices of 12.6 percent during the plan period.

Total government expenditure under the first plan was set at OR 3,377 million and total revenue at OR

3,126 million. Oil revenue accounted for 71.5 percent of the total.

Oil production in fact declined from 124.6 million barrels in 1975 to 103.7 million barrels in 1980 or by nearly 17 percent. But this decline was more than offset by the sharp rise in the oil price during this period. The result was that the contribution of the oil sector to Oman's GDP increased, instead of declining, from 67 percent in 1975 to 69 percent in 1980. More significant, perhaps, the national income accounts prepared by the Development Council showed that the annual rate of growth in GDP at current prices during the plan period averaged 31.1 percent instead of the targeted 12.6 percent, with this target being closer to the estimated real growth in GDP.

Rapid rates of growth, from sometimes humble beginnings in 1975, were recorded in most sectors. But the sectoral composition of GDP remained largely unchanged with agriculture continuing to account for 2.8 percent and with the contribution of manufacturing industry rising from 0.3 percent in 1975 to 0.8 percent only in 1980 (Table 2).

In all, the first five-year development plan was a success, though the over-achievement of its basic targets was undoubtedly due to an excessively conservative assessment by Omani planners of the country's oil fortunes during the plan period.

### **Second plan on target**

Building on this initial planning experience, Oman's second five-year plan was an altogether more confident, well-studied and detailed effort. Total government expenditure during the second plan period was projected at OR 7,368 million (or 118 percent above expenditure under the first plan) with investment allocations amounting to OR 3,323 million. The basic aims and targets of the second plan were set as follows:

- a- To achieve an average annual rate of growth of GDP at current prices of 13.1 percent, with the real

**Table 2**  
**Growth under First and Second Development Plan**  
(OR million - current prices)

Sector	1975	1980	1984	% Increase 1975-1980	% Increase 1980-1984
Agriculture and fisheries	20.2	52.6	89.0	160.4	69.2
Oil and mining	486.8	1,280.5	1,449.0	163.0	13.2
Manufacturing industry	2.1	15.6	91.2	642.9	484.6
Construction	70.8	117.8	225.3	66.4	91.3
Transport and communications	23.5	38.3	84.5	63.0	120.6
Electricity and water	1.8	16.0	32.7	788.9	104.4
Trade	38.5	188.3	369.0	389.1	96.0
Banking	9.8	55.9	121.6	470.4	117.5
Ownership of dwellings	9.3	106.9	154.1	1,149.5	44.2
Public administration and defence	53.0	153.0	332.9	188.7	117.6
Other services	8.4	54.6	122.6	5,500.0	124.5
GDP at market prices	724.2	1,851.5	2,646.9	155.7	43.0

*Source: Central Bank of Oman, Annual Report, 1984*

growth in GDP maximised by restraining inflationary pressures.

- b- To increase crude oil production to 330,000 b/d and to maintain output at this level throughout the plan period. For this purpose, the plan stressed the need to: (1) encourage the existing oil companies to intensify their exploration efforts, (2) grant additional concessions in new areas, and (3) carry out technical studies on oil reservoirs in producing fields to maximise recoverable reserves.
- c- To attain an average annual ratio of gross capital formation to GDP of 23.8 percent, with 65 percent of the investment required for this purpose to come from the public sector and the rest from the private sector.
- d- To stimulate the development of the private sector activity in agriculture and fisheries, manufacturing industry, mining and handicrafts. For this purpose, the plan allocated OR 16 million to be distributed as grants to small enter-

prises, OR 109 million to be provided as interest-free loans to joint-stock companies in manufacturing and mining, OR 19 million for setting up an agricultural credit bank and OR 24.5 million to be disbursed as support to farmers and fishermen.

- e- To expand programmes for the construction of low-cost housing and vocational training centres as well as projects for the development of water resources for irrigation.

At OR 3,323 million, investment allocations under the second plan were nearly double the total of actual investment expenditure under the first plan. The second plan, however, placed a greater burden on the private sector in that it envisaged that around 35 percent of total investments would be undertaken by this sector as compared to an actual proportion of 28.3 percent under the first plan. This is mainly because private investment in the oil and gas sectors (through oil concessions) and in the manufactur-

ing industry was planned to be much higher under the 1981-1985 plan. The proportion of total investment going to the oil sector increased from an actual 26 percent under the first plan to 35 percent in the second plan while that in manufacturing increased from 4.5 percent to 12 percent (Table 4).

In contrast, allocations for infrastructural development dropped to 21.5 percent of the total under the second plan as compared with an actual proportion of nearly 48 percent under the first plan. This is not difficult to understand since a lot of effort was put into the development of the infrastructure in the period up to 1980.

The second five-year plan was completed at the end of 1985 and as yet there is little official information as to its overall achievements, but a study of the available data indicates that its basic targets were generally met in spite of the unforeseen fall in oil prices and revenue, especially since 1983. The government deficit during the second plan period amounted to OR 394 million (higher than expected), (Table 3). This in spite of the fact that Oman was able to increase its oil output to an annual average of around 141 million bar-

rels, or around 386,000 b/d which is 17 percent above the oil output target set in the plan.

National income figures for the period up to 1984 show that GDP at current prices increased at an average annual rate of 10.75 percent from 1980 to 1984. This is close to the target set in the plan, though the average could be reduced once the 1985 figures are in since GDP last year was undoubtedly affected by the sharp fall in oil prices in the second half.

Earlier, in mid-1984, the government announced that spending under the second plan would be increased 25 percent by the inclusion of new projects. It is not yet clear, however, whether these additional projects were fully or even partly implemented in view of the increased squeeze on revenue which must have developed in 1985.

Nonetheless, if considered on a sectoral basis, achievements in the first four years of the second plan were undoubtedly considerable. Agriculture and manufacturing industry posted average annual rates of growth of 17.3 percent and 121.2 percent respectively from 1980 to 1984 (Table 4). Between 1982 and 1985, partly in response to government incentives in the form of soft loans,

Table 3  
Government Revenue and Expenditure  
under the Three Development Plans  
(OR million)

	First Plan (1976-1980) Actual	Second Plan (1981-1985) Actual	Third Plan (1986-1990) Planned
<b>Revenue</b>			
Oil	2,236	6,376	7,171
Non-Oil	890	571	1,485
Total	3,126	6,947	8,656
<b>Expenditure</b>			
Development	905	2,155	2,211
Fixed	2,348	5,138	6,818
Other	84	75	221
Total	3,337	7,368	9,250
<b>Deficit</b>	211	421	594

Source: Oman Development Council

cheap land and power supplies, import-duty exemptions and government-sponsored feasibility studies, a total of 640 small to medium scale manufacturing establishments started operating.

Fast growth rates were also recorded in the transport and communications and public utilities (electricity and water) sectors. Those growth rates were achieved mainly because major projects under the second plan called for the construction of around 1,600 kilometres of asphalted roads, the expansion of cargo handling capacity at Mina Qaboos (Oman's main harbour) from 1.5 to 2 million tonnes a year, the doubling of electric power-generating capacity to 697 MW and the increasing of telephone lines four-fold to 47,500 lines.

Most significant perhaps, Oman's economy became appreciably more "diversified" during the period from 1980 to 1984 both because of the fall in oil prices and the rapid growth of the non-oil sectors. Diversification was achieved in the sense that the contribution of the oil sector to GDP dropped from 69.2 percent in 1980 to 54.8 percent in 1984. During this same period, the contribution of agriculture increased from 2.8 to 3.4 percent and that of manufacturing industry from 0.8 to 3.4 percent.

The contribution of the oil sector to GDP is expected to decline further under the third five-year development plan especially in view of the recent slump in oil prices. This plan was unveiled at a rather inauspicious time for the Gulf oil producers and will probably be implemented sometime in 1986. The information available to date on the plan indicates that it aims to go further than its predecessors.

### **New plan aims high**

Total government expenditure under the new plan is projected at OR 9,250 million, or 25.5 percent more than actual expenditure under the second plan. Government revenue is projected at OR 8,656 million which leaves a deficit of OR 594 million, higher

again than the actual deficit under the second plan by nearly 51 percent. In this respect, it is not clear what average oil price was assumed in projecting government revenue up to 1990. But in the light of what was said earlier in this article, government revenue during the plan period could end up being much less than projected, especially if the recent sharp slump in oil prices continues in 1986 or beyond. This would either mean a larger deficit or a necessary cutback in expenditure under the plan.

Recent statements by various Omani officials indicate that the government is aware of the financing difficulties which might arise. Various options are available, including international short-term borrowing, drawing on reserves, increasing non-oil receipts (by increasing customs duties and other taxes) and, in the last resort, a cutback in spending. At the present time, this latter option seems the most likely, especially that the budget deficit for 1986 alone was recently projected by the Omani Minister for Economic and Financial Affairs at OR 202 million or 34 percent of the deficit projected for the entire period from 1986 to 1990 in the blueprint of the third plan.

Notwithstanding these recent financing worries, the third plan gives priority to the development of the private sector, especially agriculture and industry, and the upgrading and expansion of social services. The overall quantitative target is to achieve an average annual GDP growth rate of four percent. This is more modest than in the first two plans, but is undoubtedly realistic and pragmatic in the light of current conditions.

In the agricultural sector, the plan includes projects to preserve range lands, expand dates production and processing and reclaim new areas for cultivation. It also includes projects for the development of additional sources of water, the maintenance of the traditional network of irrigation channels and the stepping up of extension services to improve the tech-

nical capabilities of farmers and fishermen.

In industry, the basic aim is to provide further incentives to the private sector to establish light and intermediate manufacturing industries. For this purpose, four new industrial zones are to be established and the existing one expanded. Land in these zones is rented out at nominal rates and other facilities are provided at subsidised prices.

Soft loans will be provided from a fund of OR 109 million established under the second plan. Only OR 16 million of the fund was used up by the end of 1985 because of delays in drawing up the legal procedures for the disbursement of such loans.

**Table 4**  
**Investments by Sector under First, Second Plans**

Sector	(OR million)					
	1976-1980			1981-1985		
	Actual			Planned		
	Public	Private	Total	Public	Private	Total
Oil and Gas	236.0	197.3	433.3	617.9	545.0	1,162.9
Mining	11.7	1.3	13.0	58.2	-	58.2
Agriculture	18.3	12.9	31.2	82.3	51.0	133.3
Industry	0.6	69.1	75.1	166.2	235.0	401.2
Housing and other services	200.1	186.0	386.1	515.7	337.0	852.7
Infrastructure	731.5	-	731.5	714.7	-	714.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,198.2</b>	<b>466.6</b>	<b>1,670.2</b>	<b>2,155.0</b>	<b>1,168.0</b>	<b>3,323.0</b>

*Source: Oman Development Council*

/13104

CSO: 4400/155



BANGLADESH

## SUBSTANCE, REACTION TO AMENDMENT OF ELECTION RULES

### Ordinances on Representation Amended

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 86 pp 1, 12

[Text]

An ordinance amending the Representation of People Order 1972 (P.O. 155) was promulgated on Saturday.

The amendment bars persons from seeking elections to parliament from more than five constituencies simultaneously. Prior to the promulgation of the ordinance any citizen fulfilling the constitutional obligations could contest parliamentary elections from unspecified number of seats.

It was not clear whether the amended ordinance would supersede the Article 71 Clause 1 of the Constitution which is now under suspension. The said Article permits a citizen from contesting elections to parliament from any number of constituencies he wishes.

When the attention of the Chief Election Commissioner was drawn to this anomaly he said that he would be guided by the Articles 118 to 129 of the suspended constitution which specify his powers in conducting the elections. Asked if he as head of an independent body would point out the contradiction between the amended order and the Article 71 Clause 1 of the suspended constitution he evaded a direct reply and said that he would accept the court verdict if challenged by any candidate. He said he was not the law-making authority and would follow the law made by the government.

The reaction to the amendment of the order was sharp and instantaneous. The leader of the two alliances Begum Khaleida Zia and Sheikh Hasina said that by promulgating the ordinance President Ershad had conceded moral defeat to the opposition. They told the newsmen in their instant reaction that President Ershad had once again gone back on his commitment

to the nation that he would not arrogate to himself the power to amend the constitution. This is an exclusive privilege of the peoples representatives, he had repeatedly said.

Sheikh Hasina told the newsmen that when the two alliances were thinking of contesting all the 300 seats putting two leaders of the alliances the Government hurriedly amended the Constitution to block the move. This had proved once again that the Government did not want the opposition to participate in the elections.

Begum Khaleida Zia told the newsmen at BNP office that the amendment had proved that the Government wanted opposition to stay away from elections. She said that the two alliances were seriously thinking about the proposal to contest the 300 seats by putting her and Sheikh Hasina and Government being afraid of the move blocked the participation in the elections.

She said that the Government had lost the credibility. She further said that the government would continue to achieve the final victory. She said that the amendment had created a new impediment in holding the elections and it was mala fide.

The seven-party alliance in a reaction said that the amendment had unmasked the autocratic character of the government. The alliance firmly said this had also proved that there could not be any free and fair elections under the present government. The alliance also said that the Government did not want that the opposition participate in the elections.

The 15-party alliance in a statement on Saturday said that the amendment has reflected the Government's attitude and it is now clear that the Government do not want to create congenial atmosphere for election.

It added that when the alliances were thinking to face challenge of election the amendment was announced in a hurry. The alliance observed that a constitutional crisis has been created through this amendment. President Ershad despite his assurances has done it. The alliance appealed to the people to compel the Government through observance of the programme of movement to hold election in a free and fair atmosphere.

Former Attorney General Barrister Istiaque Ahmed said that the order was ultra vires of the Constitution.

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Sheikh Hasina, President of Bangladesh Awami League and Mr. Mohammad Abdul Barez, a former Bangladesh Ambassador to Kuwait and a leader of the BNP filed two separate writ petitions on Tuesday in the High Court Division, Dhaka challenging the legality of the Ordinance No. XVIII of 1986.

The ordinance prevents a citizen of Bangladesh from contesting from more than five constituencies in the parliamentary elections. The Ordinance the petitioner said, has been made without lawful authority and was of no legal effect.

The writ petitions have been filed in the court of Mr Justice Latifur Rahman and Mr Justice Aminur Rahman Khan.

The admissibility of the writ petitions will come up for hearing today (Wednesday).

The facts of the Petition in short is that:

The petitioner and her political party and the 15-party alliance and the seven-party alliance being determined to prevent the respondent from holding one-sided mock election and to give the people an opportunity to register their vote against such a negation of democracy. It was decided that the petitioner and the leader of seven-party alliance would jointly contest in all three hundred constituencies with a common symbol. This news was published in different newspapers on March 18 last.

Ordinance No. XVIII of 1986 But suddenly the Government promulgated an ordinance on March 18 last with a malafide object of depriving the petitioner as well as the leader of seven-party alliances of their constitutional right as provided in Article 71 (2) of the Constitution, to participate in the forthcoming election.

The Ordinance has purported to amend the Representation of People Order (P.O. 155 of 1972) introducing a new Article 13-A to the effect that no person can contest elections from more than five constituencies and that every candidate shall with his nomination paper a declaration that he is not contesting elec-

tions in more than five constituencies. It is further provided that if a candidate becomes a candidate for elections from more than five constituencies, his nomination paper for elections from all his constituencies shall be treated as null and void.

The petitioner submitted that the Ordinance is manifestly inconsistent with Article 71 of the Constitution and the Ordinance is unconstitutional, made without lawful authority and void.

The petitioner submitted that the Ordinance by purporting to amend the Representation of People Order to deprive the petitioner of her constitutional right to contest from any number of constituencies is manifestly inconsistent with Article 71 of the Constitution and thus is palpably unconstitutional and void.

The petitioner submitted that the provisions of Article-71(2) expressly prohibit the imposition of any limitations on the right of a person to contest from any number of constituencies.

The petitioner submitted that Article 13A(3) contains a Penal provision. In the constitutional provision there cannot be any penal clause.

The Deputy Attorney General appeared for the State and took adjourned for the day and it will come up for hearing today (Wednesday).

Dr. Kamal Hossain Mr. Shamul Haq Choudhury Sved Ishtiaq Ahmed, Shaikat Ali Khan K S Nabi S. S. Halder Amirul Islam A. Y Masihuzzaman Alimuza man Chowdhury Amirul Haq Sheikh Ansar Ali Salahuddin Advocates, appeared for the petitioner

A similar petition has also been filed by Mr. Md. Abdul Barez, former Ambassador of Bangladesh to Kuwait and a BNP member challenging the said Ordinance and in this matter the Government will also make its submission today (Wednesday)

Messrs T. H. Khan Julmat Ali Khan Jamiruddin Sircar Rafiqul Islam Miah Mvi Md. Wahidullah and Mr. M. A Wahhab Miah, advocates appeared for the petitioner.

## Court Rejects Petitions

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 21 Mar 86 pp 1, 12

[Text]

Awami League chief Sheikh Hasina and B.N.P. leader Abdul Barez filed two separate writ petitions on Tuesday challenging that the Ordinance No. XVIII of 1986 have been made without lawful authority and of no legal effect.

A Division Bench of the High Court Division Dhaka comprising Mr. Justice Latifur Rahman and Mr. Justice Aminur-Rahman Khan heard the petitioners advocates and the state for two days and rejected the two writ petitions by one judgement delivered on Thursday on the finding that :—

The Constitution is subject to Martial Law Proclamation and regulations and the Chief Martial Law Administrator have got full authority to change and amend the Constitution as per Clause (FF) of the proclamation.

The matter in controversy is really one relating to the elections to Parliament and in that view of the matter this court has got no jurisdiction to entertain these two applications under Article 2 (c) (ii) of Martial Law Order No. 1 of 1985.

It was held that this court has nothing to do with the solemn declaration and statements that were made by the President as these were not enforceable under any law in any country. This court is not the appropriate forum for scrutinizing the solemn promise of the President as this court cannot give any direction to the Chief Martial Law Administrator to do such thing or not to do such thing within such time. This is outside the scope of the jurisdiction of this court which can only see the legality of law that exists today and nothing beyond that.

It is observed that unfortunately the learned advocates appearing for the petitioners lost sight of this fact and in their emotional exuberance they wanted this court to go into the question of solemn declaration of the President of 22.1986.

The learned judges observed that they have seen the intention of the Chief Martial Law Administrator was clear and unambiguous and in that view of the matter they cannot read any other intention in the said Ordinance No. 18 of 1986.

BSS adds: The judges in their verdict said: Under Martial Law the Chief Martial Law Administrator has the supreme power to issue any order and regulation.

The court said the CMLA has the right to amend any law or regulation even when the Constitution is revived partially or in full.

Dr. Kamal Hossain, Syed Ish-tiaq Ahmed, Shamsul Huq Chowdhury, Amirul Islam, S.S. Haider, Aminul Huq, Shaikat Ali Khan Mahmudul Islam Taufique Newaz, A.Y. Masluzzaman, K. S. Nabi, Sk. Ansar Ali, Kazi Shahabuddin Ahmed M. Muzammel Hossain, Salehuddin, advocates appeared for Sheikh Hasina.

Mr. T.H. Khan, Julmat Ali Khan, Jamrudin Sircar, Rafiqul Islam Miah M.A. Wahhab Miah, Mvl. Md. Wahidullah Giusuddin Ahmed advocates appeared for Mr. Abdul Barik.

Mr. M. Nurullah, Attorney General, Abdul Wadud Bhuiyan, Additional Attorney General M.M. Hoque, Deputy Attorney General Shah Azizur Rahman—II Asstt. Attorney General appeared for the State.

BANGLADESH

# FOREIGN ENVOYS SEEK INFORMATION ON OPPOSITION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 17 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Article by Khondker Manirul Alam]

[Text] The envoys of superpowers along with their allies appeared to have been out on hunt for first hand information on fast changing political scene specifically in the opposition camp.

They seemed to have thrown away the minimum request of an information to the Foreign Ministry for such meetings.

The Ambassador of the USA in Dhaka had a two-hour long meeting with the Chairman of Bangladesh Nationalist Party BNP Begum Khaleda Zia on Saturday afternoon at the residence of Lt Col (Rtd) A.S.M. Mustafizur Rahman, Secretary General of BNP, according to a reliable source.

Meanwhile, an Australian diplomat had also a long session with Awami League President Sheikh Hasina Wazed on Sunday afternoon. The meeting was held at the Gulshan residence of Mr Siddiqui, a former Minister and Ambassador of Bangladesh to the USA, during the Awami League government.

Earlier on March 12 last, the Indian High Commissioner to Bangladesh, Mr I.H. Chaddah held talks with BNP Chairman Begum Khaleda Zia at the residence of Lt Col (Rtd) A.S.M. Mustafizur Rahman. However, Mr Rahman later said that no such meeting between Begum Zia and the Indian High Commissioner had taken place.

There are some envoys of certain countries having ideological link with some parties in Bangladesh, who are keeping liaison with certain leaders. However, they have their own channels of keeping contacts.

Opposition leaders also took the meetings with gusto, political sources said. Some leaders even delayed attending to their scheduled or emergency meetings in order to keep these unscheduled meetings.

Sheikh Hasina delayed her arrival at the meeting of the 15-party Alliance scheduled to be held at 2 p.m. at the Dhanmondi residence of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman because of her unscheduled meeting with the Australian diplomat. Sheikh Hasina came to attend the meeting in the evening.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1583

BANGLADESH

## COMMUNISTS, ALLIES TAKE STAND ON ELECTIONS

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 19 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Communist Party of Bangladesh and its allies—unified NAP and NAP (Muzaffar)—spent Tuesday in hectic parleys among themselves and with other opposition leaders to help create a pro-election trend in the mainstream opposition.

It was Mr Mohammad Forhad, General Secretary of CPB who proposed that Begum Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina should contest 150 seats each in parliamentary polls. When this move was blocked Mr Forhad promptly put forward a second proposal. He proposed that 22 parties should unitedly put up candidates with common symbol. This proposal received serious opposition from inside the alliances at the first ever joint meeting of the 22 parties held on Monday night. So, the proposal could not be carried through.

Undaunted Mr Forhad and his allies in the two NAPs held discussions among themselves and other leaders on Tuesday to devise another way to participate in parliament elections.

It is learnt that the trio have agreed that the opposition should take part in the elections provided the Government gave certain concessions to the mainstream opposition.

The concessions the three parties are seeking include: going back to the situation that prevailed before March 1, 1985; dissolution of the cabinet; clear and specific announcement on the total neutrality of the Government in the elections; suspension of the activities of upazila parishads during elections time and shifting of the elections date to suitable date acceptable to the opposition.

The trio considered that it would not be wise to go for head-on collision with the Government on the question of elections. The Government may restrict the political activities and hold the elections with tight measures, which the opposition may not be able to resist. They are of the opinion that the mainstream opposition should not be guided by emotion, rather it should

accept the reality and act accordingly. "Time has not come to launch a full-out movement against the Government to bring its fall. People are also not prepared to go into the streets against the Government. If anybody compares the situation with that of Philippines, he is grossly mistaken", said a leader of the CPB.

The realisation of the trio vis-a-vis elections was also reflected in the adjourned meeting of the working committee of unified NAP. While echoing to the concessions asked by the CPB and its allies, the meeting hoped that "good senses would prevail in all" the question of holding and participation in the elections. By using the word "all", confided a NAP leader, "we meant both the Government and the opposition". No sensible person would like to lead the country towards uncertainty, be he in the Government or in the opposition, the leader said.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1584

BANGLADESH

## PAPERS REPORT PROGRESS TOWARD ELECTIONS

Ershad 21 Mar Speech Text

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 22 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] President Hussain Muhammad Ershad on Friday night announced a number of measures to pave the way for participation of political parties in the Parliamentary elections for transition to democracy, reports BSS.

In an address to the nation over radio and television, the President said these measures are taken in view of indication given by some political parties during the last two days to participate in polls.

He, however, said that implementation of these measures will take place if they announce their decision unequivocal terms by Friday night to participate in elections and withdraw all anti-election programme including the hartal they had called for today (Saturday).

The measures announced by the President are: (A) The Election Commission will be advised to hold election at a suitable date before the commencement of the holy Ramzan and re-schedule the election programme including the date of submission of nomination paper beginning March 22, (B) Ministers seeking elections will resign. As a result of which, naturally, the Cabinet will be reconstituted, (C) The posts and offices of Zonal Martial Law Administrators, Sub-Zonal Martial Law Administrators and District Martial Law Administrators and Martial Law Courts will be abolished, and (D) Nobody connected with the administration including the upazila chairmen will be allowed to use government facilities for electioneering of any party or individual.

He also firmly reiterated that the administration will play a totally impartial role in the elections.

Positive approach sought

President Ershad hoped that imbued with the spirit of greater national interest, the political parties will reciprocate this gesture of goodwill with positive approach.

Otherwise, he said, in the absence of any alternative and in the interest of holding elections in an atmosphere of free from fear and also to ensure public security and social peace, all activities against elections and actions that will directly or indirectly be meant for impeding polls will be prohibited from [word blurred] a.m. today (Saturday).

The President said in that case the parliamentary elections will be held on April 26 as already announced in the elections schedule.

President Ershad said that he and his Government was never hesitant to adopt any logical steps so that all could participate in elections with honour and confidence. He had never hesitated to pursue a softer attitude whenever it was required for greater national interest and for the sake of social amity and political understanding, he said.

He said he believes in democracy and wants democratic rule. There is no other democratic means than holding of elections for transition to democracy he asserted.

Detailing his efforts for establishing democracy, the President said that thrice election dates were postponed showing respect to the opinions of political parties and for reaching political understanding. As a result the people were deprived of their right to establish a government of their choice through exercising their sacred right to franchise.

People want polls

President Ershad said people wanted elections and so the elections will be held. Insha Allah, elections will be arranged by remaining faithful to the objective of my Government of ending Martial Law and transferring power to people's elected representatives at the shortest possible time which is also the aspiration of the people.

Referring to the anti-election activities of some political parties, the President said it is the moral responsibility of any Government to ensure congenial atmosphere so that elections could be held peacefully and people can exercise their right to franchise freely. Activities to foil elections can never be considered as honest politicking in the yardstick of democratic values, he observed.

He called upon once again all political parties to come forward rising above petty matters to participate in elections to take the verdict of the people in favour of their political opinions for greater national welfare. This is my call to the spirit of patriotism of all the political parties, he said.

Text of speech

Following is the English rendering of President's address.

Bismillanir Rahmanir Rahim

My dear countrymen

Assalanu Alaikum

On the 2nd of March I announced before you the decision of holding Parliamentary elections in the last week of April. The Election Commission announced the schedule for polls on the same day fixing April 26 as election date.

I pledged to hold the elections by the first half of this year. We took the decision consistent with our moral responsibility of fulfilling our pledge to the nation and in consideration of the national importance of returning to Constitutional rule without prolonging the Martial Law any longer.

Social amity

I repeatedly said that my Government and I believe in multiparty democratic system. I believe in social amity and political understanding. From this belief we took steps to fulfil the main demands and conditions of the opposition political parties so that all of them could participate in the elections with confidence and thus contribute equally to establishing democracy on a permanent foundation.

In accordance with their demand for ensuring a climate of free and fair elections, we wanted to abolish all administrative and judicial posts, offices and Courts of Martial Law keeping only the legal umbrella of Martial Law. I also said that those members of the cabinet who would seek elections would resign. I also announced in clear terms that all measures would be taken by the Government and the administration for ensuring free and fair elections.

Over and above, keeping in view their demand and my sincere desire for peaceful transition to democracy, I announced the decision to hold the Parliamentary elections before the presidential one.

Political stability

My dear countrymen

This time we hoped that from a sense of responsibility towards the nation all, irrespective of their political belief and party affiliations, would respond to my call and participate in the April 26 elections and help the nation take a firm stride towards political stability through the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people and revival of the



Constitution. They will imbue our collective national efforts with new spirit in building a brighter future ending the uncertainties of the present.

But today I am telling you with a heavy heart that due to anti-election activities of some political parties our expectations have not come true. Perhaps our sense of accommodation for a political understanding and maintaining social amity has been construed as weakness.

Since my announcement on the 2nd of March for elections, certain opposition alliances and parties proceeded in a planned manner to frustrate the elections. Attacks were made on election offices and offices of the returning officers in some places.

Even a few offices of the upazila chairmen who are directly elected by the people, have been ransacked. A hartal was called on March 8 against the elections. Programmes of intimidation have been announced for March 20 and 21 to thwart the election process. Again a twelve-hour hartal has been called on March 22, the date for submission of nomination papers. Election candidates have been threatened with their life.

On Thursday an innocent police officer was assaulted by processionists participating in an anti-election procession. It is not enough to term it as an act against law and order. Rather, it is an act of terrorism. What crime this police officer had committed? If this is politics, then what is terrorism? In this context I want to say in explicit terms that in future if any participant in a procession try to indulge in vandalism, then the leaders of that procession have to bear all the responsibilities of that act and have to suffer legal action.

After reviewing the whole situation it has now become clear that although some political leaders and parties speak of democracy in reality they are not in favour of peaceful transition to democracy. Rather they are working against it. They do not want social peace. Instead they want to plunge the country into total disorder. Their design is to create chaos instead of political stability and bring about total anarchy instead of economic progress.

My dear countrymen, This situation cannot be allowed to continue any more. We wanted to appreciate and accommodate the opinions of these opposition political parties with utmost patience. We have tried our best to fulfil their demands

with the spirit of tolerance and our loyalty to the democratic norms. They continued to raise newer conditions as we met one set of their demands.

I have repeatedly said that the elections will be held this time on the scheduled date. I believe in democracy. We want democratic rule. For transition to democracy, there is no democratic means other than holding elections.

I have tried my best to bring all the political parties and alliances to the elections. We have postponed elections thrice in the past showing respect to their opinions and for reaching a political understanding. As a result the people were deprived of their right to establish a Government of their choice through exercising their sacred right of franchise.

### 'People want elections'

People want elections. Today I am announcing with all the emphasis at my command that, Inshallah, the elections will be held on the scheduled date. By remaining faithful to the objective of my government of ending Martial Law and transferring power to people's elected representatives at the shortest possible time which is also the aspiration of the people.

My dear countrymen,

It is the moral responsibility of any government to ensure congenial atmosphere so that election could be held peacefully and you can exercise your right of franchise freely and the candidates can go to you without any fear whatsoever.

We are conscious of this responsibility of ours. We will discharge this responsibility of ours at any cost. Because activities to foil the elections can never be considered as honest

politics by the yardstick of democratic values.

Since the vesting of responsibility of running the administration on me four years ago, I have been working with all sincerity and making every efforts to consolidate national unity and building a democratic political system. So I wanted to lead the country to stability and democracy through participation of all irrespective of political ideology. I still want it. So once again I call upon all the political parties to come forward rising above petty matters to participate in elections to take the verdict of the people in favour of their political opinions for greater national welfare. This is my call to the spirit of patriotism of all the political parties.

During the last two days, some of the parties have indicated their participation in elections. I have told you several times before that I and my government were never hesitant to adopt any logical steps so that all could participate in elections with honour and confidence. I am not hesitant even now. I have never hesitated to pursue a softer attitude whenever it was required for greater national interest and for the sake of social amity and political understanding.

### Assurances

Today, I am once again assuring you that I and my government are ready to take the following steps if they by Friday night announce their decisions in unequivocal terms to participate in elections and withdraw all anti-election programme including the hartal they called for today (Saturday).

(A) The Election Commission will be advised to hold elections

at a suitable date before the commencement of the holy Ramadan and re-schedule the election schedule including the date of submission of nomination paper beginning 22nd March.

(B) Ministers seeking elections will resign. A result of which naturally the Cabinet will be reconstituted.

(C) The posts and offices of Zonal Martial Law Administrators, Sub-Zonal Martial Law Administrators and District Martial Law Administrators and Martial Law courts will be abolished.

(D) Nobody connected with the administration including the Upazila Chairman will be allowed to use government facilities for electioneering of any party or for individual.

Before and after the announcement of elections, I announced more than once that elections will be held in a fair and impartial atmosphere. I am once again announcing that the administration will play a totally impartial role in the elections.

### Activities against polls to be prohibited

My dear countrymen  
I hope that being imbued with greater national interest, they will reciprocate this call of mine with a spirit of positive approach. Otherwise, finding no other alternative, in the interest of holding elections in an atmosphere free from fear and to ensure public security and social peace, all activities against elections and actions that will directly or indirectly be meant for impeding polls will be prohibited from five a.m. today (Saturday). And in that case, the election to parliament will be held on April 26 as already announced in the election schedule.

My dear countrymen,  
In conclusion I want to say it once again that people and only the people are the source of all power. Election is the only way to exercise the sovereign rights of the people. Our people never failed to take the right decision at any critical jun

cture of our history. It is my firm belief that the people this time will also give their correct verdict. The blessings of Allah the merciful and unity and wisdom of our people have earned dignity for the country in the world. I hope that reposing confidence in our sincerity and goodwill and showing respect to the democratic rights of the people all democratic minded political parties and organisations will come forward this time to participate in the elections. I believe with the combined efforts of all patriotic people Inshallah we will be successful in discharging the sacred responsibility that history has devolved on us for giving the nation a democratic political system.

Let us once again raise high the flag of invincible national unity like that of 1971 by rising above all differences and foiling all conspiracies.

Let us build a firmly rooted democratic state and a prosperous society for our posterity in a peaceful way.  
Khoda Hafez,  
Bangladesh Zindabad.

### Communists Urge Participation

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 22 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

The Secretariat of the Communist Party of Bangladesh has urged the 15-party Alliance and the Seven-Party Combine to take part in the ensuing Jatiya Sangsad elections.

Giving reaction to the President's address on Friday, the CPB described the measures as announced by the President in his address as the victory of the opposition movement. "We consider it a right step on the part of the 15-party Alliance and the Seven-Party Combine to accept the elections as a challenge in view of the achieved victory and under the changed circumstances following the President's address.

The CPB said that the parties in the movement was never against the concept of elections but the Government made the situation complicated since it did not create atmosphere conducive to elections.

The CPB held the Government responsible for everything and said that the opposition alliances were in the movement for creation of conducive atmosphere and shifting of election date and it was for this reason that the hartal call was announced.

The CPB said that in the past also the party had asked the alliances to accept elections as a tactics of movement.

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

The Election Commission on Saturday announced shifting of the date for Jatiya Sangsad elections to May 7 next from April 26, reports BSS.

The Commission also announced revised time schedule for holding the elections to the Jatiya Sangsad for convenience of the intending candidates.

Following is the revised election schedule:

The days for submission of nomination papers—on all the working days between March 22 and April 6, 1986, scrutiny of nomination papers—April 7, last date for withdrawal of candidature—April 12 and polling day—May 7.

The Election Commission said the intending candidates may submit their nomination papers either to the Returning Officers or to the Assistant Returning Officers or to both of them.

## 17 nominations filed on Saturday

Meanwhile Seventeen nomination papers were submitted to the returning officers Saturday at different district headquarters according to reports received in Dhaka.

On the first day Saturday of the filing of nomination papers, candidates seeking election to the Jatiya Sangsad election sche-

duled on May 7 showed enthusiasm while submitting their papers to the returning officers the reports said.

In Narayanganj one nomination paper was submitted for one constituency two nomination papers for two different constituencies were submitted in Feni four for four constituencies in Rajshahi four in three different constituencies in Chittagong six in Mymensingh for five constituencies the reports said.

## BNP Accuses Awami League

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 23 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The Bangladesh Nationalist Party in a statement on Saturday said some political parties including Awami League have announced their decision to participate in the election at dead of night without receiving any concrete guarantee of a free and fair election. The decision came in the face of a threat by the Government and on terms which are not honourable. The statement further said the decision to participate election confirms statement made by President Ershad in an interview with a London Bengali weekly that Awami League will be rehabilitated in politics.

As a result, the statement added conscious political quarters consider the present move as an arranged game and an expression of an international conspiracy. The people have been disappointed by the sudden change of stand by certain political parties and that was demonstrated in the announcement made by the government controlled media on Saturday repeatedly about the participation of those political parties in the election. But still

the people have spontaneously through observance of hartal on Saturday in the country expressed their no confidence on the regime and those who are engaged in the arranged game.

The statement was issued after three and a half-hour meeting of the Standing Committee, Executive Committee and leaders of front organisations of BNP on Saturday held with Begum Khaleda Zia in the chair at the Dhanmondi residence of a party leader.

The meeting reviewing the address by President Ershad on Friday said that in fact the President's announcement did not contain any new measure to ensure holding of free and fair election on the basis of five-point demand. The statement further said that no mention was made as regards the neutrality of the President himself and Cabinet members. The announcement also ignored the basic issue of fundamental rights of the people and moreover, in the announcement the President threatened that all fundamental rights will be curtailed if the conditions set

by the CMLA are not accepted.

The party would announce its decisions with regard to the election only after consultation with components of seven-party alliance, various professional groups keeping in mind the threat of government and the 'betrayal' of certain parties. An extended meeting of the party with district leaders will also be held before taking the decision.

The party said that it can participate in the election only when the demands for release of detenus withdrawal of cases against political leaders and workers restoration of fundamental rights and exoneration of conviction under Martial Law of political leaders are met and a congenial atmosphere is created for holding election under a neutral government.

The seven-party alliance will continue with its programme of observance of Dictatorship Resistance Day on March 24. The alliance will hold a rally at 4 p.m. at Baltul Mukarram on Monday. It will be followed by a procession. Leaders of seven party alliance will attend the rally.

## Split in 15-Party Alliance

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 25 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The split in the 15-party alliance is complete. Four components of the alliance Workers Party of Bangladesh (Menon), Sramik Krishak Samajbadi Dal, both factions of the Socialist Party of Bangladesh broke with the 15-party alliance on Monday differing on the participation in the ensuing parliamentary elections scheduled to be held on May 7.

The Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (Shahjahan Siraj) did not attend the meeting. Instead JSD held a Working Committee meeting at the same time to discuss the election issue within the party. JSD earlier also opposed the hurried decision and called unity of the 22 parties.

The leaders of the breakaway four parties of the alliance told waiting newsmen at the Dhan mondi residence of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman that they demanded review of the decision to participate in the elections as announced on March 21 by Sheikh Hasina on behalf of the alliance they also urged Sheikh Hasina to rescind the decision. The leaders viewed that the decision to participate in the election was an attempt to legitimise the illegal government. Mr Rashed Khan Menon said that it was a wrong decision Mr Nirmal Sen said the demands of alliance had not been fulfilled in the President's address to the nation and the main emphasis was to hold free and fair elections after withdrawal of Martial Law.

Sheikh Hasina told the newsmen that the alliance had decided to participate in the election as a part of strategy of the movement. She said the Government had succumbed to the demands of the alliance for holding the parliament elections first. The holding of parliament elections first is our victory and we demanded it, she asserted.

### Decision taken in full meeting : Hasina

Replying to a question about the split in the alliance she said every party had its own viewpoints but the decision to

participate was taken in the 'full meeting of the alliance.' When asked if the demand for reviewing the decision as demanded by the four parties would be considered she said 'The door is open for discussion.' She said that those who will participate in the election would continue to work out the election programme.

Sheikh Hasina said that the main emphasis of the 11-point demand of the 15 party alliance and five-point demand of the two alliances was election. Later Mr. Nirmal Sen, however, said the main emphasis of five-point and eleven-point was withdrawal of Martial Law and holding of election under a neutral government.

When asked if the alliance's demand for holding the election under a neutral government had been fulfilled Sheikh Hasina said President Ershad had announced that he and his administration would remain neutral in the election and even after that if the neutrality is not maintained "We shall realise it through movement."

Regarding the pledges by President to take some steps to make the election free and fair Sheikh Hasina told a questioner that some of them had already been fulfilled.

In the backdrop of the pressure from within and outside the 15-party alliance is trying to build up contact with seven-party alliance for fighting the election by the 22 parties jointly. Sheikh Hasina told newsmen that her emissary met the leaders of the seven-party alliance and she tried to contact Begum Khaleda Zia on over telephone on Sunday.

But the contact could not be established as she was not at home Hasina said. Replying to another question she said she did not try to contact Khaleda Zia on Monday.

Senior leaders of Awami League also expressed the same feeling adding that their sincerity was evident from the fact that even in the face of provocative utterances against the alliance they did not react. "We hope the 22 parties would fight the election to end Martial Law once for all from Bangladesh and to establish democracy on a sound footing."

### Seven-Party Alliance Decision

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 31 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The 7-party alliance has decided to stay off the ensuing parliamentary election in the existing situation despite its desire to take part in it as the minimum of what is necessary to create a congenial atmosphere for holding a meaningful election has not been done.

Following a prolonged meeting of the central leaders of the 7-party alliance held with Begum Khaleda Zia in chair a five-page statement was issued at about 12-15 hours last night clarifying its stand vis-a-vis the election.

Explaining the situation the statement said that the political detainees had not been freed till today, fundamental rights of the people including freedom of speech, independence of the judiciary and freedom of the Press not restored completely and the role of the CMLA and the incumbent ministers regarding the election not made clear.

The alliance further said that the members of the Armed Forces had not been withdrawn to the barracks, conviction of the political leaders and workers given by the Martial Law courts not set aside, the legitimate demands of the students, workers and all other professional groups not met and, above all, minimum time necessary for participation in the election not given.

It was emphatically pointed out in the statement that the alliance was always prepared to participate in the election if the congenial atmosphere for a meaningful election was created on the basis of the five-point demand and the onus of creating such a situation lay with the government.

The statement made it clear that Shaheed Ziaur Rahman founded BNP, which had captured majority parliamentary seats through the people's votes and the 7-party alliance were not afraid of election and the election to be held under an entente with certain political quarters without participation of the 7-party alliance would not be acceptable to the people.

The statement said having usurped the state power illegally by overthrowing an elected Government at gunpoint in the darkness of night, this Government had pushed the country to the precipice of disaster by taking wrong policies and indulging in unbridled corruption.

The economy had been crushed, prices had soared, law and order situation had crumbled, educational institutions had turned into battle fields and the public life had been faced with ruination due to the policies of the government, the statement said.

It said innumerable people had suffered at the hands of the Government and a large number of people including Selim, Delwar, Titas, Basunia, Shahjahan Siraj, Dipali Saha, Tajul, Hazrat Ali Abdur Rahman, Moyezuddin had laid down their lives in course of the movement for restoration of democracy. Many others including Tipu Biswas, Jalal, Jahir, Swapan, Niru, Bablu were still languishing in jail.

By advancing through the blood stained path, the people began to unite them and at a stage the 7-party and the 15-party alliances were formed and 5-party framed, it said.

The movement of the alliances recently converged into a single movement of the 22-parties, the statement said and added the cherished unity of the two alliances also made the victory of the people visible and scared the military Government and its associates.

Scared by the unity of the 22 parties the government then desperately tried to break the BNP, 7 party alliance and the unity of the two alliances. In its bid to break the unity also lend the hands the foreign conspirators.

The statement said that when the two leading ladies of the alliances decided to contest in 150 seats each under one symbol as a tactics to quash the government bid legalise its

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illegal power the government, going against its commitment, amended the sacred constitution.

The government did not stop there but pulled up its strength and indulged in secret activities so that in no circumstances the unity of the 22 parties hold, the statement added.

As a result the CMLA suddenly went on the air on March 21 evening and threatened the political parties to join polls on conditions dished out earlier.

The statement said that following a call by the CMLA to the opposition to take part in election virtually under the conditions as announced by him earlier coupled with the threat of snatching away the fundamental democratic rights of the people some politi-

cal parties had taken a hurried decision to participate in the election at midnight without consulting with the other parties involved in the movement. As a result of the decision, the prospect of sure success of the coordinated movement of 22-parties was blighted.

It further said that, consequently, the 15-party alliance had suffered a cleavage, the unity of the main strength of movement--students and workers--broken up and the people had been utterly frustrated and confused.

It added that only a few days ago the joint declaration of the 22 parties had identified as national betrayers those who would contest the election under the blue-print of the military government ignoring the five-point demand expressed determination to resist them socially and politically.

As a result, the statement said, the sudden decision of some parties in favour of participation in election without realising any new demand was considered by the people as the outcome of their secret entente with the government and now it was appropriate to identify them as what was mentioned by them earlier.

It said that the people's lack of confidence on the political parties which had grown due to unethical activities and somersault of some politicians had increased manifold due to the mid-night incident on March 21.

The alliance said that this sort of activity was not only undesirable, but also condemnable as only the reactionary enemies of the people benefitted from this. And quite invariably, it is these forces which have benefitted from this time too, it said.

### Correspondent's Commentary

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 26 Mar 86 pp 1, 12

[Text]

The flow of political events during the past one week has been stunning and dramatic. The events all having significant political bearing are bound to cast their influence on the fast changing political scenario in the country.

Sheikh Hasina's commitment on behalf of the 15-party alliance to join the hustings on May 7 sparked off a chain reaction not only within the 15-party conglomerate but also brought an end to the three and a half year period honeymoon between the two alliances.

The Central Students Action Committee sympathetic to the 15-party Alliance publicly questioned the sagacity of Sheikh Hasina's decision and staged demonstration denouncing the pro-election stance.

Five component units of the 15-party Alliance broke away from the group accusing Awami League and the CPB of taking the decision in an indecent haste. They feel that there has been no major deviation in the Government stand to prompt a shift in the alliance's election posture.

The optimism in the Opposition camp soared high in the wake of an unannounced meeting between the two leading ladies Begum Khaleda Zia and Sheikh Hasina. The euphoria did not last long. The unexpected announcement of the 15-party alliance in favour of election on the promptings of Awami League caught the seven-party alliance on the wrong foot.

The Seven-party alliance has not categorically stated that it would not take part in the election but its cautious approach not breaking away from the mood set by the movement of the five-point demand has won for the alliance and BNP in particular a large number of fleeting people having no allegiance to any particular party. There is also a distinct possibility of the five components of the 15-party alliance coming to some political understanding with the Seven-party alliance.

BNP is particularly disturbed by the fact that Martial Law court convictions are still hanging on the head of some of its former Ministers notably Jamaluddin Ahmed, Abul Hasnat, Tan-

veer Ahmed Siddiky S. A. Bari A. T. Majedul Huq and Obaidur Rahman. The case against Mr. Habibullah Khan has been dropped.

The Martial Law court convictions will debar the BNP leaders named above from seeking election to the Jatiya Sangsad. Similar cases against Moudud Ahmed and Mayeedul Islam have been dropped since their association with the Government.

The Government according to a highly placed source, is not very anxious or keen to rescind the court convictions on former BNP Ministers since Awami Leagues participation in the polls would give the coming elections enough credibility. But the dropping of cases cannot

also be completely ruled out.

Now the question is why did Awami League delay its decision to join the polls by one and a half years. If Awami League and CPB feel that their demands for a free and fair polls have been satisfactorily met by the concessions offered by President Ershad why did the parties shun the Government offer last April. Moreover the Upazila Parishads had then not come into being. Was there any cogent reason for prolonging the Martial Law, one may well be prompted to ask this question.

The people want election and an end to Martial Law, there is no doubt about this. What was agitating the mind of the people and the political parties was the fairness of the election.

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CSO: 4600/1589

BANGLADESH

FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF ERSHAD GOVERNMENT NOTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 24 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

President H.M. Ershad on Sunday felicitated and thanked the people, members of the Armed Forces and civil administration and others whose hard work, dedication and tireless efforts have helped in the attainment of progress and development of the country through implementing far-reaching reforms in socio-economic and political arena, reports BSS.

In a message on the eve of the completion of four years of the present Government, the President said it is a memorable event of hopes and inspiration in the history of national life. "We had to accept the onerous responsibility of running the administration of the country four years ago for greater national interest in the backdrop of socio-economic and political situation obtaining that time," He said adding: "that was a very difficult challenge".

'He said, our path was not strewn with flowers. We had to surmount many a problem and calamity during the last four years. But we have been able to establish the nation on

a firm foundation with our unflinching faith in Allah and active and unstinted support of the people of all walks of life".

President Ershad said unthinkable changes have been attained in all spheres of national life during the four years. The nation has not only got rid of a condition of anarchy, but achieved desired success in various sectors. The country is certainly making a stride forward towards progress. Far-reaching socio-economic and political reforms have been implemented. As a result, unprecedented vivacity has been created today in the national reconstruction activities, he added.

He said keeping in view the needs of an independent nation, various revolutionary steps have been implemented to wipe out the vestiges of colonial rule and exploitation. The nation has already started getting results out of them. The example of our success is going to be considered as emulative ideal in development pursuit of the Third World, he added.

President Ershad said by pursuing epoch-making pragmatic foreign policy we have glorified the image of the country. Bangladesh has also initiated another important phase of its success in holding the first summit meeting of SAARC in quest for regional cooperation through united and coordinated efforts of the countries of the area and for peace, security and stability of the region.

He said in order to further consolidate the success and establish it on firm foundation, we have continued our sincere efforts for establishing a real democratic system. Our initiative for holding forthcoming parliamentary election by ensuring participation of all has given testimony to our desire for establishing a real representative democratic government.

The President felicitated and thanked the people, the members of the Armed Forces and civil administration and all others for whose tireless efforts dedication and hard work it was possible to attain these successes.

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CSO: 4600/1588



BANGLADESH

JSD LEADERSHIP CALLS FOR OPPOSITION UNITY

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Mar 86 p 3

[Text]

Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) one of the component parties of the 15-party alliance, made an appeal on Tuesday to all the political parties, committed to the movement for the realisation of the five-point demand, to take united moves in the current political context.

In a resolution adopted at its Central Executive Committee with Mr. Shahjahan Siraj in the chair, the party stressed that the unity between the 15-party alliance and the seven-party combine could alone help carry forward the movement against the Martial Law to its logical culmination.

The party did not make any observation or comment on the decision of Bangladesh Awami League and its other partners in the 15-party alliance about

participation in the parliamentary elections following President Ershad's address to the nation on March 21 last. It also maintained absolute silence on the objections, raised by four other component parties of the 15-party alliance to the decision in favour of participation in the elections, announced by Sheikh Hasina, leader of Awami League, in the name of the 15-party alliance in the small hours of Saturday last.

In its resolution, the party felt that the disunity in the ranks of the 22 parties which came into sharp focus in the course of separate reactions of the two alliances to President Ershad's address to the nation had not only created confusion in the minds of the people and various professional groups but also caused deep frustration among them.

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CSO: 4600/1591

BANGLADESH

# JSD-SI SPLITS OVER ELECTION PARTICIPATION

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 3 Apr 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Jatiya Sainajtantrik Dal (S.I.) formally splitted on Wednesday on election issue.

Party General Secretary M. Hasanul Huq Inu announced the party's decision against taking part in the polls and party President Mr Shahjahan Siraj came up with a statement that the party would take part in the elections.

With these opposite stand of the two leaders the week-long gossip in the rank and file of JSD and in the political circle came to an end.

Mr Shahjahan Siraj announced the decision of joining of the party in the polls through a press release. The press release said that the decision was approved at the adjourned meeting of central executive committee held at the central office of the party at 5.45 p.m. It pointed out that some members of the Executive Committee and the General Secretary of the party, Mr Hasanul Huq Unu, were not present at the meeting.

On the other hand, Mr Inu told the newsmen at the central office of the party at 10.30 p.m. that his party was not taking part in the ensuing elections. 'The JSD could not be a party to the conspiracy to legalise the present government by taking part in the polls,' he said.

Mr Inu said that the decision not to taking part in the polls was taken at the adjourned meeting of the central Executive Committee of the party held at the party office at 9.30 p.m. Replying to a question, Mr Inu claimed that 17 out of a total 31-member central Executive Committee members were present at the meeting which was presided over by Mirza Abdul Latif, a former MP. He pointed out that four members of the committee were outside the city when the meeting was held. President and General Secretary of Bangladesh Chhatra League (Shirin-Mushtaque) and President of Jatiya Sranik Jote, two front organisations of JSD were present during the press briefing.

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CSO: 4600/1594

BANGLADESH

JATIYA DAL CALLS FOR UNITY AGAINST 'INDO-SOVIET CAMP'

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 1 Apr 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Bangladesh Jatiya Dal President Mrs. Amena Begum and General Secretary Ibrahim Rahman have called for unity of all nationalist, democratic and anti-aggression patriotic forces of the country against the so-called conspiracy of the people-in-power and their allies belonging to the Indo-Soviet camp.

In a joint statement issued yesterday they said that ignoring the national demand for holding free and fair election under a non-party and neutral government the Awami League and CPB gang—servitors of the Soviet Union and India had taken adventurist decision in favour of participation in election under the blue-print of this government at the midnight of March 21 to legitimize the Martial Law.

They said that by means of this decision this pro-election gang had identified themselves as 'national betrayers' as announced by them earlier.

They said that the 'illegal' government and the servitors of hegemonism could not be allowed to rehabilitate themselves on the soil of Bangladesh. The people are determined to resist the election of the agents of India and the Soviet Union to be held under their blue-print.

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CSO: 4600/1580

BANGLADESH

## IMPLEMENTATION OF ECONOMIC COUNCIL DECISIONS EXAMINED

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 14 Mar 86 p 3

[Text]

Since May 1976 the National Economic Council (NEC) has taken 182 decisions and has accordingly issued official orders regarding implementation of development activities under the annual development programs. Out of this about 0 percent decisions are yet to materialize. Only 40 decisions were fully realized. About 30 decisions were implemented partially. The fate of the remaining 21 decisions could not be known.

These were revealed in a recent report compiled after an evaluation and monitoring of the implementation scenario of the annual development program (ADP). The report was prepared under the guidance of the Planning Commission.

According to the evaluation report, the NEC on December 13, 1976 decided that all ministries would undertake an exercise to draw up proposals for inter-sectoral adjustments of ADP allocations so that more allocations could be made for schemes which had shown better performance.

Another decision was taken on February 22, stating that to guard against accumulation of unspent balances the ADP funds should not be released after June 15 of the outgoing financial year so that necessary adjustments could be made. But, those decisions regarding allocation of disbursement of ADP funds were never implemented, the report observed.

Regarding the unutilized funds under ADP provisions, the NEC on February 22, 1977 took a decision that savings in any sector due to a shortfall in expenditure might be utilized by other sectors capable of spending more than the allocation with the special permission of the ECNEC. But such a permission was never sought for nor the decision was implemented, the evaluation report said.

The NEC on January 2, 1978, decided that monthly interministerial coordination meetings should be held to sort out problems that might crop up from time to time.

On November 5, 1982 another decision was taken

that before finalization of ADP an exercise similar to the above be made and the committee should be given adequate time to examine the components of all projects with a view to eliminating non-essential ones and ensuring optimum utilization of resources, both external and internal.

On June 24, 1982 another decision was taken that all assets not required for running a project after completion should be properly assessed and accounted for and transferred to other ongoing or new projects while the project completion reports should be submitted immediately to the monitoring bureau without fail. But none of those decisions were carried out the report maintained.

The evaluation report observed that the president and chairman of the NEC on January 10, 1979 decided that the ministries of agriculture and forest, jute and textile, power, water resources and flood control should undertake detailed scrutiny of the reasons for failure to complete projects under their ministries.

A special review would be made shortly for such projects to identify and sort out bottlenecks. But the concerned ministries did not carry out the decisions nor the review report was submitted, the report said.

On October 16, 1984 the NEC decided that all the project proformas under the annual development prog-

ram should include the management pattern of the project while there shall be provisions for reward for successes and punishment for failures regarding the implementation of the projects.

It also mentioned that a project implementation process should include all the officials and employees collectively and accordingly everyone in the project should be rewarded or punished. But no instance of such reward or punishment was ever seen, the report said.

The NEC on May 15, 1985 decided that the components of the projects which are locally available should be purchased locally and the project implementation board should take necessary measures so that the terms and conditions for procuring them are made flexible.

The external resources division was given the responsibility to take up the matter and to reorganize the financial disbursement procedures accordingly.

The decision is yet to be implemented whereas many of the components for different projects are being imported from external sources although those are locally available.

The monitoring report observed that 1976 was the year when maximum decisions were taken in the NEC meetings regarding implementation of ADP

projects, whereas it was the worst year in respect of implementation of those decisions.

The same year the NEC issued 57 decisions out of which only 8 decisions were implemented. Out of the remaining decisions 40 were partly materialized and 8 decisions remained completely untouched. The fate of three decisions could not be ascertained.

The following year, 1977, the NEC took only six decisions regarding project implementation. In 1978, 11 decisions were taken by the NEC on project implementation while the number of implemented decisions was four. Two of the decisions remained unimplemented and 3 were partially implemented. In 1979 the NEC took only one decision on project implementation and that remained unimplemented, it is learnt.

It may be mentioned that on November 13, 1983 the NEC decided that all the ministries and divisions under them would extend possible help to the planning and monitoring cell under the Planning Commission so that the monitoring cell could act effectively.

It also advised the secretary, additional secretary and joint secretary level officers to check whether such assistance was being extended in a regular manner. That decision is also yet to be carried out.

BANGLADESH

## PUBLICATION OF THIRD 5-YEAR PLAN REPORTED

### Presentation to Diplomatic Community

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 18 Mar 86 p 1

[Text] The cornerstone of the Third Five-Year Plan (1985-90) is investment in land and labour at accelerated rate to harness their productive potential for the growth of the economy, Planning Minister Sultan Ahmed Chowdhury said in Dhaka on Monday, reports BSS.

Addressing the presentation ceremony of the Third Five-Year Plan document to the members of the diplomatic mission representatives of the multi-lateral and bilateral agencies at the Planning Commission, the Minister said "poverty alleviation" had been chosen as the central theme of the Third Plan.

In spite of our best efforts and the generous assistance by the donors, people of Bangladesh remained deeply engulfed in poverty, Mr Chowdhury said, adding Bangladesh's population constituted ten percent of the world's poor.

The function was also addressed by Finance Adviser Mr M. Syeduzzaman and Member Planning Commission Dr A.M. Shahdatullah.

In this effort for alleviation of poverty, the Planning Minister said Bangladesh looks forward to its partners in development for strong support.

We appreciate their difficulties but as world economic condition has assumed a brighter look aid too is expected to recover from its stagnation of the past, he said.

Mr Chowdhury also said that the Government of President Ershad was doing its best to usher in a representative form of government which was a pre-condition for uninterrupted economic growth of the country.

Economic Progress Expected

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 18 Mar 86 p 5

[Editorial] The country is now poised for taking an economic leap. The Third Five-Year Plan, the final documents of which were published Sunday, envisages an annual growth of 5.2 percent. Most of the progress will be made in the agriculture sector which still earns the nation's bread and butter. Bangladeshi farmers during the last five years have won a remarkable success in raising both rice and wheat productivity. Observers of the international food scene have taken cognizance of the agricultural achievements of the country, including the miraculous growth in wheat yields. As a matter of fact, the World Bank estimates that Bangladesh will very soon attain self-sufficiency in food.

Planning Minister Sultan Ahmed Choudhury formally presenting the Plan documents disclosed that the annual growth rate during the previous plan period (1980-85) fell short of the 4.5 percent target by 0.7. The government is now keen on achieving the new target which, according to economic experts, is the minimum that must be realised to maintain the tempo of development.

The new Plan which became operative from 1985-86 fiscal year stresses also industrial growth. The government hopes that the private sector will play its due role in increasing industrial productivity and in widening the export base. One of the reasons that Bangladesh is constantly suffering from an adverse balance of trade with most countries is that there are not many products that the country can sell abroad. The narrow export base is again a result of the low-level of industrialisation in the country. Since the advent of the government of President Ershad, the private sector has been encouraged by liberal credit facilities and by the removal of all limits to investment. But unfortunately, the private entrepreneurs have not responded at the same level to the state incentives.

In agriculture, the accent is expected to be on the acreage under irrigation. The investments on irrigation are being increased because experts, both in and outside the government, are convinced that Bangladeshi farmers can reap bumper crops throughout the year if basic inputs like irrigation and fertilisers are made available. With the commissioning of new fertiliser factories under the third plan, the ever-increasing demand for fertiliser would be met. The availability of water for the farmlands during the winter dry season could combine with the other inputs to produce the new miracle in agriculture that the country eagerly awaits.

Expansions in the agriculture and industrial sectors will mean that there would be more employment for the people. About six million jobs are to be created by 1990. Not surprisingly most of them will be in the villages.

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CSO: 4600/1579

BANGLADESH

PAPERS REPORT VISIT OF POLISH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER

Talks with Chowdhury

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Poland will upgrade her mission in Dhaka from the existing Charge d'Affaires level to full ambassadorial level to increase bilateral economic and political contacts, reports BSS.

The Polish intention to raise the level of diplomatic representation in Bangladesh was conveyed by Dr. Jan Majewski, the Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs during formal talks with Foreign Secretary Faruk Ahmed Choudhury.

The Foreign Secretary told BSS after the talks that the two sides had a satisfactory meeting that focussed mainly bilateral relations with particular emphasis on economic cooperation.

"The sides found trade relations between them were satisfactory and could be further improved he said adding that efforts would be made to find out ways and means for strengthening economic cooperation and cooperation in other fields.

Dr Majewski arrived here Monday on a four-day official visit the first by a high-level Polish official since 1974. He is accompanied by Mr Tadeusz Pawlak adviser to the Polish Foreign Minister.

The Foreign Secretary said that during the talks the two sides briefed each other with their respective views and posi-

tions on different international and regional issues, particularly the situation in Europe the East-West relations.

Mr Faruk Choudhury said that the Polish side was briefed on the developments in our region and the way Bangladesh looks at her relations with the neighbouring countries.

He said the two countries play an important role in the United Nations and different international fora and 'we took this opportunity to exchange views on our respective roles.'

The Foreign Secretary said that the Bangladesh side noted with satisfaction 'Poland's interest in developing relations with the Third World as well as Bangladesh.

The two sides during the talks also decided to hold political consultations on a regular basis and make efforts to further improve bilateral economic and trade cooperation.

Earlier the visiting Polish Deputy Foreign Minister paid a courtesy call on Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Choudhury and discussed bilateral relations.

The Polish minister extended an invitation to the Foreign Minister to visit Poland. The Foreign Minister accepted the invitation and the visit will be fixed at a mutually convenient date.



## Talks with Commerce Minister

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 14 Mar 86 pp 1, 14

[Text]

Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Jan Majewski on Thursday called on Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed and exchanged views on bilateral trade relations and economic co-operation reports BSS.

The visiting Polish Minister expressed his country's keen desire to expand bilateral economic co-operation in trade as well as other fields.

Commerce Minister Kazi Zafar Ahmed while expressing satisfaction on existing bilateral trade relations emphasised the need for its further expansion and diversification.

Bangladesh and Poland has trade in convertible currencies as well as barter, officials said. The two countries so far concluded six barter protocols—the last one is of the size US dollar 37.80 million each way.

Bangladesh has a favourable balance of trade in barter but unfavourable for the country in convertible currencies.

During the talks the Bangladesh Commerce Minister suggested that to bridge the barter trade gap some of the items now imported with convertible currencies may also be brought under the cover of barter trade. The Polish side indicated their readiness to supply items like oil seeds chemicals pharmaceutical raw materials etc under barter.

The Commerce Minister requested the Polish Minister to buy more non-traditional and value added manufactured goods from Bangladesh. He was informed that Poland is buying substantial quantity of packet tea and was also considering to buy jute carpets and other non-traditional items from Bangladesh.

### Visits BJRI

The visiting Polish Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr. Jan Majewski on Thursday visited Bangladesh Jute Research Institute to get himself acquainted with the research activities.

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CSO: 4600/1581

BANGLADESH

SCOPE SEEN FOR COOPERATION WITH BEIJING

Dhaka HOLIDAY in English 14 Mar 86 p 6

[Article by Abdul Hye]

[Text]

Chinese President Li Xiannian ended his four-day state visit to Bangladesh on March 11 after adding more "bricks and tiles to the edifice of Sino-Bangladesh friendship."

The visit, first by a Chinese head of state to Bangladesh, was marked by a "complete convergence" of views on all regional and international issues and raised the status of bilateral relations to the level of model South-South cooperation.

President Li was accorded a very warm reception on his arrival and seemed to enjoy the warmth and cordiality of Bangladeshi hospitality. His talks that produced broad agreement of views on all subjects on the agenda were held in an atmosphere of great cordiality and understanding, the hallmark of Sino-Bangladesh friendship.

The visit, the Chinese President said, "contributed to better mutual understanding and increased friendship between our two countries". In President Ershad's view, it has added a "new glorious chapter" to the history of Bangladesh-China relations.

Platitudes apart, Sino-Bangladesh relations stand on a firm foundation of mutuality and complementarity. The absence of any bilateral disputes served to give tremendous pace to the development of a mutually beneficial relationship. Similar perceptions of national identity and of regional and international issues make this friendship truly remarkable in modern times.

China, being more advanced technologically and economically, is helping Bangladesh in its struggle for economic development as best it can. It has provided Bangladesh a total of 325 million yuans (325 crore takas) of interest-free loans and grants so far. This includes an interest-free loan of 50 million yuans (50 crore takas) on which an agreement was signed in Dhaka during President Li's visit.

Chinese assistance for the Polash urea fertilizer factory and Rupganj water conservancy project is an example of South-South cooperation. The "Friendship Bridge" that the Chinese are building over

the Buriganga River near Dhaka City will not only ease greatly the communication problem between Dhaka and the southern part of the country; it will stand as a symbol of Sino-Bangladesh friendship.

There is scope for further expanding the base of economic cooperation between the two countries. For instance, Bangladesh can benefit from China's advances in light engineering and labor-intensive industries.

There is no doubt that bilateral relations will gradually encompass newer areas as the two countries continue to search for a greater complementarity in the two economies.

China's willingness to accommodate Bangladesh proposal for compensatory trade based on joint ventures in Bangladesh with buy-back arrangement is viewed as a very important step towards removing the chronic trade imbalance against this country.

China has extended the most-favored nation treat-

ment to Bangladesh in matters of trade and commerce and signed this year the largest ever barter trade protocol that provides for the export of a larger number of exportable items to China.

The growing economic and trade exchanges between the two countries are supplemented by a wide-ranging cultural agreement providing for exchange of educationists, journalists and students. These cultural exchanges will certainly foster greater understanding and friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

On the political plane, China and Bangladesh come closest to sharing identical views on all issues. This has been possible because, among other things, both countries strictly adhere to the principles of peaceful coexistence and follow a non-aligned policy with a Third World bias.

Bangladesh's policy on all important international issues including Afghanistan,

Kampuchea, and the Indian Ocean seem to converge with that of China. The Chinese support to the Saarc is highly valued by Bangladesh.

China, on the other hand, attaches great significance to Bangladesh's active role in world forums like the United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, Commonwealth, OIC and Saarc.

Sino-Bangladesh relations have been characterized by high-level government to government contacts. President Ershad visited China in 1982 and 1985. Besides, there have been frequent exchange of visits at ministerial and official levels.

These and the fact that there are no irritants in the bilateral relationship have been mainly responsible for a phenomenal growth in political, trade and cultural ties between the two countries within a short span of only ten years.

President Li's visit, thus, fits in the pattern of growing bilateralism.

30 April 1986

## BANGLADESH

## PAPER REPORTS ON FOREIGN MINISTER'S PRESS CONFERENCE

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 16 Mar 86 pp 1, 12

[Text]

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has instructed its missions in Pakistan and India to ascertain the number of Bangladeshis interned in different jails in the two countries on charge of illegal entry.

Disclosing this at his regular fortnightly Press briefing on Saturday Foreign Minister Humayun Rasheed Chowdhury said that the Bangladesh missions in Islamabad, Karachi, New Delhi, Calcutta and Agartala had been asked to compile

the list of Bangladeshis arrested and interned in Pakistan and Indian jails. Bangladesh Government would then move for the release of its citizens in the two countries. He acknowledged that a huge number of Bangladeshis had made illegal entry in India and Pakistan in the hope of getting employment there. Of them, he added, many were detected by immigration authorities and interned in the two countries.

Asked to comment on the Press reports on pushing of a number of Bangladeshi citizens into Pakistan through Baluchistan by the Iranians the Foreign Minister said that our mission in Teheran had been asked to verify the Press reports. He added that one of the diplomats from our embassy in Islamabad had been sent to Quetta to make an on-the-spot enquiry.

Asked whether Bangladesh Government know about the incident before the Press reports the Foreign Minister regretted that the Pakistani mission in Dhaka did not inform the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about the issue. He said that appropriate measures would be taken for the repatriation of the

Bangladeshi nationals now in jails in Pakistan and India.

The Foreign Minister regretted that there was still no progress regarding transfer of Tin Bigha corridor from India. He denied that Bangladesh had given up claim to any portion of its territory including South Talpatty.

He said that the joint survey by experts of India and Bangladesh was yet to be completed to resolve the issue on the ownership of the island. About the Bangladeshi village of Chandannagar near Moulavi Bazar he said that it would be handed over to Bangladesh after completion of the demarcation of the land boundary between the two countries. In this connection he expressed his bitter experience about the non-implementation of the 1974 Indo-Bangladesh Agreement by India. He observed "we did a mistake by handing over Berubari to India before getting the possession of Tin Bigha".

### Chinese President's visit

The Foreign Minister termed the first visit of Chinese President to Bangladesh as "historic and highly successful that contributed to consolidation and promotion of the Dhaka-Peking relations". He also considered the visit by the Polish Deputy Foreign Minister as a positive development in Dhaka-Warsaw relations. He said that such visits demonstrate the importance of Bangladesh which she had been gaining for its dynamic foreign policy now being pursued under the directives of President Ershad.

In reply to a question regarding his participation in the parliament election from Jatiya Party the Foreign Minister said that he would submit his nomination paper despite the 24-hour hartal call given by the opposition on March 22, the last day for filing of nomination papers. He said that his election prospect was good.

The Foreign Minister told a questioner that a large number of ex-army officers as well as officers in the active list had been absorbed in foreign office and posted as ambassadors and diplomats in our missions abroad. When newsmen pressed for the full list of such officers the Foreign Minister agreed to give the list in his next briefing. He did not comment when a correspondent said that appointment of large number of army officials in foreign service had created dissatisfaction among the career diplomats.

### Untold sufferings

BSS adds: Scores of Bangladeshi citizens looking for jobs abroad were wooed by unscrupulous manpower agents who eventually got them landed in Pakistani jails, according to a sufferer who recently returned from a nightmarish experience.

Salem Ahmed, 33, who was released from a Karachi jail last month and returned home on February 16 told BSS on Saturday that more than 700 Bangladeshis were languishing in the same jail counting their days with the hope of returned to the homeland.

He said, in Multan jail where he spent a few days before being transferred to Karachi,

about 30 Bangladeshis were passing their days in untold sufferings, misery and uncertainty.

Saleh's release and return home was pursued and expedited through the intervention of the Bangladesh Mission in Islamabad and a veteran journalist of his locality. Son of a poor peasant of Fulgazi Upazila under Feni district, Saleh being frustrated of unemployment was lured by a manpower agent for setting out to Pakistan for a job there in exchange of Tk. 2,000.

Salem said he in a group of over 100 people left for Pakistan in December 1982 via India.

The group escorted by manpower agents crossed the border in Rajshahi and while entering into Pakistan through Khemikaran Sector on December 27 was rounded up by Pakistani security forces.

From there they were sent to Kasur jail where they stayed until they were tried for entering into Pakistan illegally.

A local court gave each of them punishment of 15 days imprisonment from June 4 to June 18, 1983 for illegal entry into Pakistan.

Saleh said many of these Bangladeshis after serving their term for illegal entry had to rot for months even years in the jails in uncertain condition because they could not afford to pay for their return journey to Bangladesh.

He said Bangladeshis were huddled in Pakistani jails in inhuman conditions without proper meals and amenities.

At least three Bangladeshis died in Pakistani jails while many were sufferings from diseases and malnutrition, Saleh said adding that he himself was twice struck with jaundice.

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CSO: 4600/1585

BANGLADESH

ERSHAD MESSAGE REITERATES SOLIDARITY AGAINST APARTHEID

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 21 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

President H.M. Ershad reiterated the solidarity of Bangladesh with the people struggling throughout the world against racial discrimination and racism, reports BSS.

The President in a message on the eve of the International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination being observed today (Friday) said that the people of Bangladesh salute those valiant freedom fighters who have fallen victims to the crime of racism and apartheid in heroic defence of liberty and human rights.

The President's message said: "Bangladesh joins the comity of nations in observing International Day for Elimination of Racial Discrimination and expresses its solidarity with the people's struggling against racism and racial discrimination. We salute and honour all those valiant freedom fighters who have fallen victims to the crime of racial discrimination and apartheid in heroic defence of liberty and human rights. On this occasion which coincides with the 26th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, we

recall that the ultimate sacrifice of these brave sons of Africa prompted the UN General Assembly in 1970 to declare apartheid as a crime against humanity. Bangladesh fully shares this verdict of the international community and condemns firmly and unequivocally apartheid, and all other forms of racism and racial discrimination as being in direct contravention of the UN charter and other international legal instruments including the international convention of the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

The Government and the people of Bangladesh are extremely concerned to note that racism continues to breed new violence and cause bitterness and frustration, fears and strife in southeastern Africa and elsewhere in the world. The reign of terror let loose by the illegal racist regime in Pretoria is a direct affront to world conscience. In the third year of the second UN Decade for Action to Combat Ra-

cism and Racial Discrimination, Bangladesh reaffirms its unflinching commitment to the programme of action for the decade adopted in the 38th UN General Assembly with the noble objective of total elimination of the source of racism and racial discrimination. Bangladesh is also ready to contribute its share to the heroic struggle waged by the oppressed peoples in Southern Africa and Namibia to achieve their inalienable rights of freedom and economic and social emancipation. In this connection, Bangladesh demands immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners held by the illegal Pretoria regime.

We are confident that the racist regime of South Africa will be forced to restore full human rights and dignity to the struggling people of South Africa and vacate its illegal occupation of Namibia in terms of the Security Council resolution 435 and pave the way for its national independence, liberty and freedom.

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CSO: 4600/1587

BANGLADESH

AMBASSADOR ANNOUNCES JAPAN'S 7-YEAR AID PLANS

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 12 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

Tokyo has pledged about two billion U.S. dollars of economic assistance to Dhaka for a 7-year period from 1985 to '92, said Mr. Yoshitomo Tanaka, Japanese ambassador in Bangladesh.

Talking to newsmen at his residence yesterday Mr. Tanaka said that his country had also given around two billion U.S. dollars in grant and loan to Bangladesh, the biggest recipient of Japanese economic assistance during last 14 years since its inception in 1971.

This year, Japanese assistance to Bangladesh has been doubled from last year's 220 million U.S. dollars in pursuance of Japan's policy of increasing cooperation with the developing countries around the globe, disclosed the ambassador. The developing countries will get 40 billion US dollar Japanese assistance in 1985-92.

He said that the assistance would be utilised in those sectors to be selected by the Bangladesh government.

Mr Tanaka said the relation between the two countries were friendly and would continue to grow further in the coming years.

He said, apart from co-operation in agricultural and industrial sector his country had extended assistance in energy and communication fields too. In this context he that a 30,000 channel telephone exchange would be set up by his government in near future.

Mr. Tanaka said his country was keen to see Bangladesh an economically viable and prosperous country and added that it had immense potentiality to develop its economy.

In reply to a question the ambassador expressed his satisfaction in utilization of assistance provided to Bangladesh so far.

Answering another questioner he said there were scopes for Bangladesh garment products in Japan provided they could compete with quality goods.

Besides assistance in agriculture, food, energy and other fields Japan has provided significant contribution to health sector.

The Institute of Cardio-Vascular Disease in Dhaka and 200-bed general hospital at Narayanganj are the major contributions of Japanese assistance in Bangladesh health sector he said.

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CSO: 4600/1581

BANGLADESH

COMMODITY LOAN AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH JAPAN

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 1 Apr 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] Japan will provide Bangladesh with commodity and project loans amounting to 27.5 billion yen (approximately Taka 458.33 crore) under an Exchange of Notes signed in Dhaka on Monday between the two Governments, the External Resources division said, reports BSS.

Out of the total amount, 16.39 billion yen (approximately Taka 273.16 crore) will be given as a commodity loan and 11.11 billion yen (approximately Taka 185.16 crore) will be given for implementation of two development projects.

During the visit of President H.M. Ershad to Japan in June last year, the Japanese Prime Minister had expressed his Government's intention to extend this yen loan to Bangladesh.

The ERD in a press release said both the commodity loan and the project loan are repayable in 30 years, including a grace period of 10 years and will bear an interest rate of 1.25 per cent per annum, which is the softest rate currently offered to the developing countries by Japan.

The commodity loan will have to be disbursed within two years from the date of signing of the loan agreement. The loan is unutilised and will be utilised for procurement of a wide variety of items like industrial raw materials and spares, equipment, machinery, chemicals, fertilizers, cement and raw cotton, etc. from all the OECD countries and LDCs excluding Bangladesh.

The commodity loan will be allocated to different agencies both in private and public sector for procurement of items under the import policy.

Out of the project loan 6.32 billion yen (approximately Taka 105.33 crore) will be utilised by Bangladesh T and T Board for implementation of the Greater Dhaka Telecommunication network improvement project and the balance of 4.70 billion yen (approximately Taka 79.83 crore) will be utilised by Bangladesh Steel and Engineering Corporation for rehabilitation of the Chittagong Steel Mills Project.



The project loan will have to be disbursed within 6 years from the date of signing of the loan agreement, the press release said.

The exchange of Notes were signed by Mr M.K. Anwar, Secretary, External Resources Division, Ministry of Finance and Mr Yasuhide Hayashi, Charge d'Affaires A.I. of Japan in Bangladesh on behalf of their respective Governments.

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CSO: 4600/1592

BANGLADESH

INCREASE IN TRADE VOLUME WITH USSR REPORTED

Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 17 Mar 86 pp 1, 8

[Text] The volume of trade turnover between Bangladesh and the Soviet Union during the last 14 years was on average 50-60 million dollars, head of Soviet Trade Mission in Dhaka, Mr A.M. Vardanian, told newsmen on Sunday, reports BSS.

Briefing the newsmen on 'Bangladesh-Soviet trade' at the mission office in Dhaka, Mr Vardanian said the trade relation between the two countries were based on the trade agreement signed between them on March 31, 1972.

Mr Vardanian said that the volume of turnover in 1972 was only 23 million dollars but it increased to 80 million dollars in 1981. He, however, said that after 1981 there had been a decline in the trade. Continuing, he said last year 'we managed to increase the trade turnover up to nearly 77.5 million dollars including deliveries of equipment for Ghorsal power station.'

Mr Vardanian said the USSR purchases raw jute, jute goods, skins and tea from Bangladesh. Besides, he said the Soviet Union was the number one buyer of non-traditional item of jute carpets.

Referring to garment export to USSR, the Trade Mission chief said an exhibition of Bangladeshi products would be held in Moscow from April 1. Commerce Secretary Mr A.B.M. Ghulam Mostafa, who will be there to negotiate the next barter protocol for 1986, is expected to inaugurate the garment exhibition, he said.

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CSO: 4600/1583

BANGLADESH

BARTER PROTOCOL WITH SOVIET UNION SIGNED IN MOSCOW

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 24 Apr 86 pp 1, 8

[Text]

The 15th barter protocol for 1986 between Bangladesh and Soviet Union was signed in Moscow on March 31 providing a total trade turnover of Taka 250 crore, according to a message received in Dhaka yesterday, reports BSS.

The protocol this year provides a total trade turnover inclusive of Soviet credit repayments indicating a trade increase of about 85 per cent compared to 1985.

The protocol was signed by Mr ABM Golam Mostafa, Commerce Secretary and the leader of Bangladesh trade delegation and Mr. A.M. Manzhulo, Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. Bangladesh Ambassador to the USSR was present at the signing ceremony.

Under the protocol Soviet Union agreed to buy during the 9 months of 1986, 26,000 tons of raw jute, 25 million meters of jute cloths, 22 million pieces of jute bags and more than 3 million kilograms of tea.

Apart from the traditional items the USSR will also increase their purchase of nontraditional items like leather, jute carpets, readymade garments, and handicrafts.

For the first time the USSR will import readymade garments worth Taka two crore on trial

basis. On satisfactory supply of this quantity the Soviet Union assured to consider buying further quantities in future.

The principal items to be imported by Bangladesh under this protocol from the USSR are diesel oil, sugar, raw cotton and machinery equipment.

Earlier the leader of Bangladesh delegation had fruitful discussions with the Soviet delegation on expansion of trade. The negotiation between the two sides was held in a very friendly and cordial atmosphere, the message said.

**GARMENT MARKETING  
MISSION**

A Bangladesh garment marketing mission arrived in Moscow on Sunday last, says a Foreign Office press release.

They were accorded warm reception on arrival at the Moscow airport by high officials of USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The exhibition of Bangladesh ready-made garments opened in Moscow yesterday by Mr. S.E. Sarukhanov, Deputy Minister of Trade of the USSR.

The inaugural function will be presided over by Bangladesh Ambassador in Moscow.

Maj. Gen. (retd) Khalilur Rahman is leading the delegation.

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CSO: 4600/1590

BANGLADESH

BRIEFS

ACCORD WITH ZIMBABWE--Bangladesh and Zimbabwe have signed an agreement on economic and technical cooperation--the first of its kind between the two countries, reports BSS. The sources said the agreement was initialled last Tuesday in Harare by Bangladesh High Commission to Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe deputy Minister for Finance, Economic Planning and Development. The agreement provides for a framework for promoting further cooperation between the two countries in different economic and technical fields. The sources said as a follow-up to the agreement a high powered delegation from Zimbabwe was expected to visit Bangladesh soon to study cooperation in agriculture and jute industry. The agreement also envisages setting up of a joint commission between the two countries to expand bilateral cooperation in different fields. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 30 Mar 86 pp 1, 8] /9317

PRC SCHOLARSHIP OFFER--China has granted 42 scholarships to Bangladeshi students for studying in various higher educational institutions in China. Mr Yu Ru Cheng, First Secretary (Culture), Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Bangladesh conveyed this yesterday while paying a courtesy call on Prof Abdul Mannan, acting Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dhaka at the latter's office. During the meeting they stressed the need for expanding the exchange programme of students, teachers, researchers and experts in the fields of education, culture, technology and medical science between the two countries. The acting Vice-Chancellor expressed thanks and gratitude for friendly gesture of China towards Bangladesh particularly in the field of education. It may be mentioned that a total of 40 students from China studied Bengali at the University of Dhaka during the last 12 years and they are currently employed in different responsible positions in China. Nine students from China will study at the University of Dhaka during the current session. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 30 Mar 86 p 8] /9317

VISITORS TO LIBYA--An unofficial delegation composed of political leaders returned home Wednesday from Tripoli after attending the Mathaba conference there. The delegation included Col (retd) Shahriar Rashid Khan and Wahiduzzaman of Progosh, Mrs Amena Begum of Jatiya Dal, Shafiul Alam Prodhan of Jagpa and Ibrahim Rahman of weekly Janakatha. Major (retd) M.A. Jalil of Jatiya Mukti Andolan who was also in the delegation will return soon after visiting London. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 29 Mar 86 p 4] /9317

AMBASSADOR TO ITALY--The government has appointed Mr Waliur Rahman, at present Director General at the Foreign Ministry as Bangladesh Ambassador to Italy, according to an official announcement. He will also be concurrently accredited as Bangladesh Permanent Representative to different United Nations agencies like FAO, WFC, WFP and IFAD based in Rome. Mr Rahman, a career diplomat, earlier served in Bangladesh missions in different world capitals and the mission in the United Nations in New York. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 28 Mar 86 p 3] /9317

DEMOCRATIC LEAGUE SECRETARY--Mian Abdur Rashid, General Secretary of the Democratic League Moshtaque has resigned. In his resignation letter addressed to party chief Khondaker Moshtaque Ahmed, he said, "I will find it difficult to understand the way you are conducting yourself in politics. I am a democrat and I believe in straightforward ways in politics for achieving democracy and people's right." He said, "in this situation, to be honest to myself, I find no other alternative but to resign from the Democratic League. It is a painful decision but I can assert that I will be always found with democratic movement for achieving democracy and people's right." [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Mar 86 pp 1, 8] /9317

LANDLESS PEASANTS' ORGANIZATION--A new organisation named "association for rehabilitation of the landless due to river erosion" was formed in the city Wednesday with AKB Waliullah and A.S.M. Nasim as president and general secretary respectively, reports ENA. A 101-member national committee was also formed at the meeting which was attended, among others, by representatives from Noakhali, Hatiya, Sandwip, Bhola, Barisal and Patuakhali and other areas affected by river erosion. Peasant leader Azad Sultan also attended the meeting. The meeting also discussed the present political situation in the country and held that election was the only way to switch over to democratic rule from martial law. The meeting urged the political parties to contest the ensuing Polls. It also called upon the government to ensure a free and fair election. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 21 Mar 86 p 3] /9317

DOHA IN BNP--Former Foreign Minister A.R.S. Shams-ud-Doha joined the BNP yesterday, according to a Press release of the party yesterday. It said that he "joined the BNP affirming his faith in the ideals of Shaheed Zia and the programme of BNP and the leadership of Begum Khaleda Zia." Mr Doha had been a member of the first convening committee of BNP after its founding in late 1978. He joined the present government as its information minister in 1982, leaving his job as Bangladesh High Commissioner to the U.K. He later became the Foreign Minister but resigned in June 1984. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 16 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

BNP CONTRADICTS REPORT--BNP has contradicted a report under the caption "Indian envoy calls on Khaleda" published in the Thursday's issue of The New Nation. The report has been described as "false, concocted and politically motivated." A statement issued by BNP Secretary General Mustafizur Rahman said that no such meeting between Begum Khaleda Zia and the Indian High Commissioner had taken place at his residence or anywhere else. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 14 Mar 86 pp 1, 8] /9317

**BORDER TALKS HELD**--Brahmanbaria, Mar 17--Bangladesh and India today held talks for finalizing a joint programme of inspection of a point on the Akhaura-Tripura border for boundary demarcation. A three-member Indian team headed by Col B. Sarun, Director, Extensional Circle, Survey of India, arrived in Akhaura and met with the Director General Land Records and Survey of Bangladesh at the Akhaura checkpost this morning, sources say. The two teams later left for Srimongol. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 18 Mar 86 pp 1, 8] /9317

**AMBASSADOR TO TURKEY**--The Government has decided to appoint Mr Khorshed Alam Secretary Ministry of Industries as the country's Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey, the Foreign Office announced on Wednesday, reports BSS. A member of the Civil Service, Mr Alam served the Government in various capacities. He served as Secretary of a number of Ministries since liberation. Born in 1935, Mr Alam had his education at Dhaka University and higher education at Oxford Harvard and the TUFTS universities. A widely traveled person, he attended a number of international seminars and conferences. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 3 Apr 86 p 8] /9317

**NATIONAL HINDU PARTY**--Bangladesh National Hindu Party (BNHP) was floated at a meeting of the like-minded Hindu leaders in Dhaka on Monday, a BNHP press release said, reports BSS. Presided over by Mr Khagendrabala, the meeting formed the new party in the interest of greater national unity having full faith in the national independence and sovereignty of Bangladesh. A 21-member convening committee headed jointly by Mr Sunil Chandra Saha and Mr Pran Krishna Sarkar was set up at the meeting. The President and General Secretary of Bangladesh Hindu Chhatra Dal, Mr Binoy Krishna Biswas and Mr Sukhdev Dhali expressed the solidarity of their organisation with the newly formed party. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 1 Apr 86 p 1] /9317

**AWAMI LEAGUE LEADER**--Awami League leader Mr Abdul Malek Ukil was released on Thursday evening from the Suhrawardy hospital, a party press release said, reports BSS. Mr Ukil was admitted to the hospital on February 2 with serious illness. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 28 Mar 86 p 10] /9317

**BAKSAL PARLIAMENTARY BOARD**--The Bangladesh Krishak Sramik Awami League (Baksal) has constituted a 14-member parliamentary board with the party chief Mr Mohiuddin Ahmed as its Chairman. The party General Secretary Mr Abdur Razzak will act as Secretary of the board. The other members of the parliamentary board are Abdul Momin Talukder, Abdur Rahim Lutfur Rahman, Mazharul Islam, Shamsuddin Mollah Azizul Haque, Serajul Haque Miah, Fazlul Karim, Abdul Hadi Syed Ahmed, Quamrul Islam and Babu Debendra Nath Ghose. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 29 Mar 86 p 8] /9317

**SOVIET JUTE PURCHASES**--The Soviet Union will buy six thousand tons of Tossa raw jute worth Taka 6.17 crore from Bangladesh, reports BSS. According to an official handout an agreement to this effect was signed between the Trade Representative of the USSR and the representative of Bangladesh Jute Corporation (BJC) in Dhaka on Tuesday. The Soviet Union earlier imported 16 thousand tons of raw jute worth Taka 20.60 crore from Bangladesh during the current year, the handout said. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 19 Mar 86 p 8] /9317

30 April 1986

WORKERS PARTY CALL--Mr Abul Bashir and Mr Rashed Khan Menon, President and General Secretary of the Bangladesher Workers Party in a joint statement issued to the Press on Monday condemned the move by some component parties of the 15-party alliance in favour of participating in the election announced by the government. Such activities are nothing but betrayal to the movement now taking place on the basis of five-point demand and opposition unity which would only help the present regime, the statement added. The statement called for intensifying mass movement unitedly to resist the election. Both the 15-party and the seven-party alliances have rejected the election announcement and announced their action programmes on March 20 to March 22 and there has been no new development which calls for a review of the alliances' action programme. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 18 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

ENVOY TO ALGERIA--The government has decided to appoint Mr Reaz Rahman, at present Bangladesh Ambassador to the Republic of Italy, as Ambassador of Bangladesh to the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, a Foreign Office announcement said, reports BSS. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 12 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

JSD LEADER RELEASED--JSD leader Golam Mustafa was released from Central Jail after three years on March 25, according to a JSD (RS) press release on Thursday. Mr Golam Mustafa was convicted on charge of murder. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 28 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

U.S. ACTIONS CONDEMNED--A number of political organisations condemned the attack on Libya by the United States and destruction of four of its ships. They appealed to the people all around the world, particularly the Third World countries, to raise their voice against the American aggression. The statements expressed solidarity with the Libyan people in their struggle. Those who issued statements included Jamaat-e-Islami Bangladesh, Bangladesher Workers Party, Sramik Krishak Samajbadi Dal Communist League of Bangladesh, Bangladesh Khalefat Andolan, Democratic League (Oli), Islami Jubo Shibir, Islami Chhatra Samaj, Musallis of Chawkbazar Jame Mosque. Jatiya Biplobi Dal (Zabid), in a statement, alleged that police lathi charged their procession and arrested Mr Ziaud dun Tawhid, one of their leaders, when they were condemning US aggression on Thursday. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH TIMES in English 29 Mar 86 p 3] /9317

CSO: 4600/1593

INDIA

INDO-U.S. JOINT PANEL MEETING REPORTED, DISCUSSED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Mar 86 pp 1, 9

[Article by Warren Unna]

[Text] Washington, March 19--Indo-American relations continued their momentum of improvement yesterday with the conclusion of the first meeting of the two countries' economic and commercial sub-commission in three years.

India was able to stress her need for continued concessional aid, particularly from the World Bank's International Development Association, in front of representatives of the country which has most to say--and provide--in IDA loan money. And her audience, during the past two days of meetings, included key officials from all the U.S. administration branches which have a role--the Departments of State, Treasury, Commerce, Agriculture, the Agency for International Development, the office of the trade representative, the White House National Security Council staff and the Export-Import Bank.

India's delegation was headed by the Finance Secretary, Mr S. Venkitaramanan, and the Commerce Ministry's Joint Secretary, Mr Anwar Hoda; America's by the Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Allen Wallis and the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Economic Policy, Joseph Dennin.

"It was a great opportunity because we had their experts working together with our experts," one key U.S. State Department official explained.

Growth Problem

"The intention was not to reach conclusions but to be a clearing house for various problems, and from that viewpoint it was very useful," Finance Secretary Venkitaramanan declared. "We pressed the need for concessional aid because we are at a stage in which we need it to get over the problem of growth. We are pressing for a higher share of IDA. They appreciate our position. But how it will come out depends upon how much they get from the U.S. Congress and from other countries."



At the Jan 27 meeting of IDA donor country deputies in Paris, India was gratified to find that Reagan Administration officials no longer were questioning India's very need for concessional aid, only the quantity. India in the past few years has seen her proportion of the choice IDA loans plummet from 40% to 22%--having first to accept less because of China's IDA eligibility, and then sub-Sahara Africa's.

But the outcome still was disturbing. The IDA deputies agreed only to assure India that her IDA share (\$635 million of the current \$9 billion total) would remain at "nominal" terms. This means that if the next three-year IDA programme reaches the higher level of \$12.5 billion as has been mentioned, India's "nominal" share might stay at the current figure and her actual percentage of the total would drop.

India had some hope that the U.S., during the current subcommission meeting, might at least assure her that it would work to "maintain" India's 22% share. That assurance was not forthcoming.

"We would like both the 'nominal' and the real share to go up. The 'nominalists' believe it can be higher, but it may not be. That's bothersome," Finance Secretary Venkitaramanan declared.

In the trade aspects of this week's two days of discussions, Commerce Ministry Joint Secretary Hoda said: "I think the U.S. understands that in our stage of development there is a certain need for protectionism. But they also declare that access to new technology should be open, and that is the way it is going." India is particularly concerned about transition measures when the multi-fibre arrangement (MFA) expires on July 31 and her textiles may be confronted with the normal trade rules of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The U.S. side apparently indicated the Reagan administration has yet to decide on how liberal a stand it intends to take.

## Treaty

One example of why economic and commercial matters are not just reconciled with the snap of a finger is the issue of an Indo-American treaty to avoid double taxation. Negotiations now have been going on for a dozen years and the most optimistic guess is that it still will take another two to work out differences.

Overall, India's Finance Secretary told reporters: "Between the two countries there is a much more mature type of relationship. We welcome it. It is no longer a matter of saying that if we differ on certain issues something else will be denied."

Even the old "bash-India" group in the U.S. Congress has been silent lately. One key official declared a while back that he actually has found U.S. Congressmen now suddenly have time for India. Why?

He gave four reasons: Prime Minister Gandhi--"He's a man with whom we can communicate well." The current 1 1/2-year-long Festival of India has "raised the consciousness" of India in the U.S. India now is recognized as a "major fact of life," and, in the coming 21st century, "India will become a major force, whether we like it or not."

In its portion of yesterday's joint statement, the U.S. declared it "welcomed the measures which the Indian Government has taken to promote the liberalization of its economy and described the U.S. positive experience with more market-oriented economic policies during the past five years...it welcomed the Indian Government's increased interest in U.S. collaboration as a source of technology transfer and economic growth. It stressed the mutual benefits which could be obtained through greater access for U.S. trade and investment, and urged the GOI to take practical steps to enhance these."

/9317

CSO: 1597

INDIA

USSR, INDIA SIGN PACT ON COOPERATION IN COMPUTERS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 20: The Soviet Union will supply very large computers to India in the next five years and buy computer peripherals and electronic components worth Rs. 167 crores from this country.

The two countries signed a working programme and protocol here today for co-operation in this field. The documents were signed by Dr. N. Seshagiri, additional secretary in the electronics department, and Mr. V. M. Judine, secretary, Soviet state committee for planning.

Some of the Soviet computers are to be used by the oil and gas sector. The computers to be supplied are EC-1045 for educational applications, EC-1061, computer systems for geophysical work and large general-purpose systems of EC-1066 computer class worth Rs. 21.3 crores.

India will also buy mini-computers, digital instrumentation and instruments for industrial applications worth Rs. 11 crores, and radio components such as lamps and semiconductors worth Rs. 2 crores.

India will export to the USSR electronic items such as silver mica capacitor plates worth Rs. 34 crores, peripherals worth Rs. 77 crores, battery cells worth Rs. 27 crores, tape drives worth Rs. 19.4 crores and software worth Rs. 1.5 crores.

The two sides agreed to create an infrastructure for maintenance, spare parts supplies and software support for computers to be delivered to India.

The two countries will also examine the possibilities of setting up joint ventures in third world countries in the computer systems field. The Indian side will also be involved in installation, maintenance and operation of hardware, development of software and also in system engineering.

/9317  
CSO: 4600/1600

INDIA

GOVERNMENT REACTS TO KARACHI PORT CALL BY U.S. 7TH FLEET

Disapproval Expected

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 19.

The Government of India is expected to voice its disapproval of the current port call of the U.S. naval flotilla at Karachi in an appropriate manner without treading too harshly on the toes of the Reagan Administration.

It proposes to do so by resorting to the standard formulation of deploring the military presence and naval movements of all the big powers in the Indian Ocean without specifically picking the U.S. for condemnation.

But what is important is that India had envisaged that, in the rapidly changing strategic concepts of super power rivalries, the new emphasis is going to be on ensuring the availability of military facilities rather than establishing bases in sensitive areas involving conflicts of interests.

**Proposal to Pak:** It is because of this awareness that India had proposed in the draft treaty with Pakistan that the two countries should refrain from offering "military bases or facilities" to other powers, thereby leaving no loophole at all for the use of the existing facilities in Pakis-

tan by U.S. forces in the event of a conflict or confrontation in the Gulf region.

But Pakistan has been refusing to fall in line with such a binding bilateral commitment, maintaining that it should be sufficient if the two countries agree not to let other powers use their facilities for attacking or posing a threat to each other in the limited context of their friendship treaty or no war pact.

**Not to relent:** The Government of India is not prepared to water down this commitment because it would leave Pakistan free to let the U.S. use its military facilities in the name of defending the country from the threat of Soviet aggression through Afghanistan or safeguarding its wider strategic interests in the south-west Asian region.

The visit of the nuclear-powered U.S. aircraft carrier, USS Enterprise, to Karachi at this time has only firmed up India's resolve to insist on a categorical understanding by both countries not to let any other power use their military facilities in any form as a basic condition for signing a friendship treaty or entering into a no-war pact with Pakistan.

## Bhagat Expresses Concern

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Mar 86 p 6

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 20.

The External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, today said he shared fully the concern expressed by members in the Lok Sabha over the presence of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, including the aircraft carrier Enterprise and a nuclear submarine, off the Karachi harbour.

Describing the naval presence as "an all time high" in our neighbourhood, Mr. Bhagat assured the House that the Government was mindful of the security interests of the country and would never lower its guard.

Replying to points raised by Mr. Dharam Pal Singh Malik (Cong-I) and others during a calling attention motion, Mr. Bhagat said there was "strong suspicion" that the visit of the U.S. naval fleet was a *quid pro quo* for the entire gamut of military assistance being given by the U.S. to Pakistan.

**Pak promise to U.S.:** "This suspicion persists in Islamabad and Washington," Mr. Bhagat said quoting from news reports from the media of both countries. He cited Mr. Jack Anderson's report in the *Washington Post* of January 17, 1984 which said that the Pakistan President, Gen. Zia ul Haq had promised to allow U.S. warplanes to use Pak airfields should Soviet bombers threaten from Afghanistan.

Mr. Bhagat said the non-official media in Pakistan were critical of the U.S. naval visit, especially of the aircraft carrier Enterprise and the nuclear submarine. According to the *Muslim* (March 18, 1984), the Government's claim that its sovereignty was not bartered or that it had not granted bases was now suspect.

**Mischievous comparison:** Opposition leaders in Pakistan had also criticised the Government saying that it made a mockery of Pakistan's non-aligned position. However, the Government-sponsored *Pakistan Times* described the Seventh Fleet's visit as routine comparing it to the alleged visits of Soviet naval ships to Visakhapatnam. Mr. Bhagat dismissed this as a "mischievous and erroneous" comparison and reiterated that India did not allow any "military" ship of any nation to visit its harbours.

Mr. Bhagat also cited the statement of a spokesman of the U.S. embassy in Islamabad that the visit was a routine naval exercise, discounting reports that the U.S. feared a "spillover" of the Gulf war. He quoted the Pakistani Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Ejaz Aziz's statement to the *Jang* newspaper that Pakistan would extend the same facilities to the U.S. as it extended to other friendly countries.

**What recreation?:** Mr. Bhagat said it was "common knowledge that the U.S. naval presence in the Indian Ocean was increasing," but he failed to understand what rest and recreation facilities Karachi could provide to the U.S. naval personnel. He had seen reports that the American sailors had to get their supply of liquor from barges located off the coast and that they

had to go in civilian guise on shore.

Speaking about the growing network of bases and military relationships between the U.S. and countries of the region, Mr. Bhagat revealed that two Pakistan naval ships were currently on a goodwill visit to Sri Lanka. Whether the timing was only a "coincidence" he did not know, but the arc from Karachi to Kenya of naval facilities was becoming clearer.

Earlier, in reply to the calling attention motion, Mr. Bhagat said the Government had taken note of the increasing U.S. assistance to the Pakistan Navy, "which had no connection with the situation in Afghanistan, and reports of facilities in Gawadar and other ports being made available to other countries by Pakistan."

He brought to the attention of the House the testimony before the Senate Budget Committee on Feb. 19, 1986, where the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, included Pakistan among "military access and frontline States" along with Kenya, Oman, Morocco, Korea and Thailand.

**Informed in advance:** Mr. Bhagat said India had made it clear to Pakistan that the draft of a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation should include a provision that neither country provide bases or military facilities to third countries on its territory.

Asked during the discussions why the Government had not lodged a protest with both the U.S. and Pakistan over the visit of the naval flotilla, Mr. Bhagat said the U.S. Ambassador had on March 10 informed the Indian Foreign Secretary of the visit without giving details. "So where is the question of a protest when they informed us in advance," he asked.

**Serious issue:** During the discussion, Mr. Dharam Pal Singh Malik said the visit of the U.S. fleet was connected with the increase of Pakistani troop activity on our border and the growing aid to terrorists.

Mr. Balwant Singh Ramoowalia (Akali Dal) asked whether India's foreign policy was becoming "ineffective" in view of the growing military relationship between Pakistan and Sri Lanka. He referred to the Chinese President's reference to India as a "sub super-power" during his visit to Sri Lanka recently and said it seemed that India was getting isolated. He wondered why the Foreign Minister had not taken up the issue of Pakistan training and financing extremists.

**Encirclement plan:** Mr. Suresh Kurup (CPI-M) said the visit of the U.S. Seventh Fleet was part of an "overall plan to encircle our country." The Seventh Fleet symbolised "American Imperialism and aggression towards India," he said.

Mr. Saifuddin Choudhury (CPI-M) said combined with the fact that the ambit of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force extended to Jammu and Kashmir, the U.S. naval presence was a threat to the people of India. He warned the Government not be taken in by Pakistan's desire to have a no war pact, as it (Pakistan) was only an appendage of U.S. imperialism.

/9317

CSO: 4600/1602

INDIA

## EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER SPEAKS AT INDIAN OCEAN SEMINAR

New Delhi THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Mar 86 p 3

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 21.

**T**HE external affairs minister, Mr B.R. Bhagat, today deplored the militarisation of the Indian Ocean and expressed apprehension that rivalry between the two superpowers would increase tension and confrontation in the region.

Inaugurating a seminar on Indian Ocean as a "Zone of Peace" organised by the Indian Council of World Affairs, Mr Bhagat said that heavy induction of arms in the Diego Garcia island by the US posed a threat to India's military installations and power projects because the island was only 1,600 km away from the southern-most tip of the country.

He expressed concern at the US decision to stock nuclear arms in the island and added that it would mean that the Indian Ocean was steadily becoming a zone of conflict.

The external affairs minister said that big power military presence in the Indian Ocean intensified in the mid-seventies when the US cancelled talks on demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean with the Soviet

Union. This followed a rapid deployment force in April 1980 by the US with interventionary capabilities in the Gulf which increased the possibility of super-power confrontation in the area.

He said that India was trying to ensure that the scope of the 1971 UN declaration was not diluted and it formed the basis of the role of the ad hoc committee, constituted for the purpose.

**REGIONAL DISARMAMENT:** He said India had resisted attempts by certain countries to limit the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace to regional disarmament without reference to great power military presence, which was the prime focus of the 1971 declaration.

Mr Bhagat said that India was against attempts to inject into the concept an institutional multilateral machinery for the settlement of disputes between littoral and hinterland States.

He said that India had also opposed attempt to interpret the UN declaration as a proposal for a nu-

clear weapon-free zone or to obtain India's agreement to discriminatory international instruments such as the nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

Later at another public meeting, organised by Committee for Indian Ocean to Declare Indian Ocean as a Nuclear Free Zone, Mr P.N. Haksar condemned the "cynical display of power by the US in our neighbourhood". He asked the people to be vigilant and raise their voice against the presence of the US fleet in Pakistan waters.

Mr Natwar Singh, minister for fertilisers, said that a serious note should be taken of the Seventh Fleet "activity" in our region.

The meeting adopted a resolution drawing the attention of the United Nations to its 1971 declaration for making Indian Ocean a "zone of peace". "In view of the growing tension due to increasing military manoeuvres and establishment of permanent nuclear bases in the Indian Ocean, the implementation of the UN declaration has become imperative", the resolution said.

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CSO: 4600/1601

INDIA

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY BUDGET DEBATE REPORTED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Mar 86 pp 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 24--India would have no role to play in helping Sri Lanka sort out its ethnic problem if that Government thought there could only be a military solution, the External Affairs Minister warned in the Lok Sabha today. India kept emphasizing that the killing of innocent civilians must stop, he said.

Replying to the two-day debate on the budgetary demands of his Ministry, Mr Bali Ram Bhagat said, amid interruptions, that the bilateral relations between the two countries were good. "There is trust at the level of our Prime Minister and the President of Sri Lanka." But for that, Sri Lanka would not have asked for India's good offices in bringing about a solution to that island State's ethnic problem.

As several Opposition members questioned how he could say bilateral relations were good when the Tamil problem remained, he told them: "Sri Lanka is a sovereign State--it is our neighbour. This ethnic problem is its internal problem which has to be solved within the framework of its sovereignty." India was doing all it could to assist towards a workable solution to the problem.

But if the Sri Lanka Government thought there could be a military solution, "then we have no role to play." India's position was, thus, straightforward and categorical.

He added that, in its most recent communication, the Sri Lanka Government had said it wanted a political solution to the problem and India's good offices towards that objective. And the Prime Minister, Mr Gandhi, had told Sri Lanka again that the killing must stop and that the Government should talk directly with the Tamils.

Pakistan

On Pakistan, he emphasized, "we have to persevere in our efforts for a durable structure of peaceful relations, so that our scarce resources can be utilized for development." He told the House that there already was some qualitative change in bilateral relations. There had been as many



as six meetings between Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the Pakistani President. In addition, there had been a meeting at Stockholm recently between the Prime Minister and the Pakistani Prime Minister. "We are talking, we are discussing."

Mr Bhagat made it clear, at the same time, that if Pakistan developed the nuclear bomb, that was bound to change the security environment in this region, "but we are prepared for it."

The recent agreement on non-strike on each other's nuclear installations, he clarified, was designed to create a climate of confidence.

China

Mr Bhagat told the Lok Sabha that, while India was keen to normalize relations with China, there could be no normal relations unless the border question, including that of Indian territory under Chinese occupation, was settled.

Mr Bhagat added, however, that the entire issue was being discussed. There had already been six rounds of talks. And the two countries had begun to talk of substantial matters. The seventh round would be held soon, where there should be further progress.

The effort, he told the House, was to have good neighbourly relations with China, as with all adjoining countries.

As Mr Bhagat went on to mention the USA, he was heckled constantly about what precisely he had said on India's voting pattern in the U.N. to Senator Moynihan at a recent meeting with U.S. Senators; whether there was any officer to verify the voting and whether there really was any need for such assurance to a mere Senator. As those queries became a little too needling and disparaging, Mr Bhagat was heard telling his critics emotionally: "I shall commit suicide if it is proved that I bartered away this country's honour."

PTI adds: Members from both the ruling and Opposition parties called upon the Government to take a "firm," "vigorous" and "stiff" stand in combating the genocide in Sri Lanka.

The AIADMK member warned that Pakistan was playing a "surreptitious" role in providing arms to Sri Lanka.

Mr Bhagat said Sri Lanka stood condemned in the U.N. Human Rights Commission for the massacre of innocent civilians and for pursuing a military option.

"They are isolated more and more and at the same time, another wrong policy was being pursued by it to induct the most hated Israeli Mossad mercenaries and reportedly, mercenaries from South Africa."

He said that in its own wisdom, the Sri Lankan Government should talk to its people and settle the problem. "You can't suppress and annihilate the Tamils."

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090: 4600/1605

INDIA

## PLANNING FOR FOREIGN MINISTER'S PRC VISIT DEFERRED

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 24.

The latest indications are that India will go through one more round of official talks with China later this year to complete the sector-wise discussions, before considering the desirability of elevating the dialogue on the border dispute to a political level.

At one stage it was felt that a goodwill visit to Beijing by the External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, before the next round of these official-level talks might help to set the right tone for substantive talks on both the political and territorial aspects of the border problem.

As it would be primarily in the nature of a long-overdue reciprocal gesture, returning the visit of the former Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr. Huang Hua, who came to Delhi in 1981 to initiate this dialogue for normalisation of relations, the Government felt that Mr. Bhagat's trip would not be misconstrued as a readiness on India's part to make any far-reaching concessions. After all Mr. Huang Hua himself visited Delhi, more than two years later following the visit of the then External Affairs Minister, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, who went to Beijing in early 1979 to break the ice before the collapse of the Janata Government.

**Appropriate decision:** After careful consideration, the Government of India has come to the conclusion that perhaps it would be more appropriate to end the current series of official level talks by completing the sectorwise exchanges. Thereafter the two sides could start discussing the possibilities of a comprehensive settlement based on matching concessions to arrive at a mutually acceptable settlement, if it is at all possible in the present circumstances.

At the last round of talks in Delhi in November, 1985, the two sides merely restated their respective positions on the territorial aspects of the border dispute in the eastern sector along the McMahon Line. The central and western sec-

tors will be covered during the next round in Beijing later this year more or less in the same manner without deviating from their earlier contention.

The Sino-Indian relations continue to be reasonably good with the two countries making some marginal improvements, while the border dispute remains frozen for all practical purposes, in the absence of any serious attempt by Beijing to end the current stalemate over the very concept of a comprehensive settlement. The Government of India is in no hurry to step up the pace or level of the border talks until some basic understanding has been reached on the broad framework of the proposed agreement.

**No foreclosure of options:** The earlier idea of a visit to China by Mr. Bhagat has, therefore, been deferred until the next round of official level talks in Beijing later this year. But in putting off this trip for the present, India is not foreclosing its option of taking up this issue at a higher political level with the Chinese Government, if there are signs of some flexibility on Beijing's part.

As India sees it, the initiative for elevating the level of this dialogue really rests with China which is in a position to put forward some new suggestion. But unfortunately it continues to press for a visit to Beijing by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, as though the border dispute could be settled by the top leaders of the two countries through direct discussions.

As the Chinese refuse to indicate how far they would be prepared to go to settle this problem, the Government of India is unable to make up its mind about its own strategy for carrying forward the present dialogue to a higher level, without running the risk of a serious setback by proceeding on the assumption that Beijing would agree to a reasonable compromise at a politically opportune moment.

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CSO: 4600/1607

INDIA

CPI-M CENTRAL COMMITTEE RELEASES RESOLUTION

Namboodiripad Comments

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Mar 86 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, March 19--Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the CPI(M) yesterday said that there was "utter chaos" in Kerala. It could not be ended unless the Congress(I) reversed its policy of "taking the help of communal parties."

Asked whether his party was prepared for elections to the Kerala Assembly, he replied with a counter-question: "Why not?"

He ruled out the merger of the two Communist parties and said even the CPI had "a broad unity of action in mind." He favoured "effective functioning of the coordination committee of the two parties" but was not prepared to discuss this with reporters

There was a joint movement on a single issue of price rise with all other Opposition parties.

The central committee statement released criticized other Opposition parties on several counts but did not name the parties.

The committee praised the initiatives taken by the Soviet leadership on world peace and to improve Socialist construction in Russia.

It criticized the Government's policy of capitalist liberalization and modernization initiated in the Budget Liberal imports were "ruining Indian industries, increasing unemployment and harming a large number of entrepreneurs." It condemned the expansion of deficit financing, steep increases in indirect taxation and the rise in administered prices of essential commodities. Concessions had been given to the big landlords and capitalists through the Budget and other measures.

On the Muslim Women's Bill, it said, the Congress (I) Government had sided with the fundamentalists to deny Muslim women their rights.

The CPI(M) regretted that most of the other political parties including the Congress (I), had been "communally divided both on the Muslim Women's Bill and on the Ram Janam Bhoomi-Babri Masjid episode in U.P. But secular forces were growing in all communities and in all parties, it observed.

The party took serious note of the recent developments in Indo-Pak relations and the visit of the U.S. 7th Fleet to Karachi harbour.

#### More Details Given

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 20 Mar 86 p 7

[Text] New Delhi, March 19--The CPI(M) Central Committee has expressed concern over the "deteriorating" situation in Punjab, the "unabated violent attacks" on Opposition members in Assam and the "dangerous and explosive situation" in Kashmir. It demanded early elections in the State.

In a resolution on Assam, it said: "Scores of cases of terrorist attacks, including gruesome murders, kidnapping, severe assaults, arson and destruction of homes, imposition and forcible realization of heavy fines and oppressive social boycott of members and supporters of the Opposition parties have lately been reported by every one of the all-India political parties, including the Congress(I). The CPI(M) has become a major target of this violence."

The Prime Minister's claim that the Assam accord brought back peace and amity in Assam had been belied, the resolution said.

Assamese had been made compulsory in the secondary schools in all non-Assamese schools, including those having a tribal language as the teaching medium, upsetting the long-standing arrangements and disregarding protests from the minorities. Anti-reservation moves had been initiated against the Scheduled Tribes and Castes. These developments "keep the State in a destabilized condition," according to the resolution.

The CPI(M) urged the Centre and the AGP Government to fulfil their pledge and restore peace, secure the democratic rights of the Opposition and safeguard minority rights in Assam.

The central committee said the extremists had captured the Golden Temple and many other historical gurdwaras in Punjab and, in spite of the sarbat khalsa decision at Anandpur "to liberate the gurdwaras from their control, the SGPC and the high priests are not prepared to assert their authority."

The activities of the Haryana Chief Minister, Mr Bhajan Lal "are adding fuel to the fire." The resolution feared a serious threat to the unity of the country.

The central committee urged the Akali leadership to curb extremist activities and the Centre to give up its policy of drift and implement the Punjab accord in letter and spirit.

The CPI(M) said the crisis in Kashmir was "the direct result of the opportunist policies of the Central Government which extended support to the defectors' Ministry of Mr G.M. Shah." His 20 months of rule gave a "free run to the forces of communalism. Never before under any other regime had the pro-Pakistani elements such freedom to raise pro-Pakistani secessionist slogans with such effrontery and impunity."

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CSC: 4600/1597

INDIA

CONGRESS-I LOSES STRENGTH IN BIENNIAL ELECTIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 20.

The party line-up in the Rajya Sabha has changed as the Congress (I) lost eight seats—four to the Telugu Desam, three to the Janata and one to the Asom Gana Parishad—in the first round of biennial elections that concluded today. This erosion was an expected lines reflecting as it did, the changed political realities in the Assemblies of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Assam. State Assemblies constitute the electoral college for the Rajya Sabha.

Winning five out of the six seats in Andhra Pradesh the Telugu Desam Party emerged as the third largest Opposition group in the Upper House.

The first round involved 18 seats out of 70 which are due to fall vacant at various stages this year. Of these, 12 were held by the Congress (I), two by the CPI (M), one each by the Janata, the Nagaland National Democratic Party (NNDP), the National Democratic Party of India (NDPI) and the Muslim League. Four nominated members too, retired, of whom three had joined the Congress (I). While losing eight, the Congress (I) retained four and wrested one (in Nagaland). The four it retained comprised one seat each in Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala and Himachal Pradesh.

The final tally at the end of the first round was the Congress (I) 5, Telugu Desam 5, Janata 3, AGP 2, CPI (M) 2, Muslim League 1. The CPI (M) also won a by-election in West Bengal.

In Andhra Pradesh, the Telugu Desam wrested four seats from the Congress (I) and one from the CPI. The Congress (I) secured the sixth seat. Those defeated were a retired Congress (I) member, Mr. A. S. Chowdhary, who was expelled from the party because of his action in contesting as an Independent, and Mr. N. Rajasekhara Reddi, CPI.

**Janata takes 3 seats:** The other party to improve its strength was the Janata. Only one of its members retired but it captured, without contest, three seats from the Congress (I) in Karnataka. The Congress (I) had to be content with one seat, the winner being Mrs. Margaret Alva, Union Minister of State. With two victories—one each at the cost of the Congress (I) and the Janata—the Asom Gana Parishad made its debut. In Nagaland, Mr. Hokushe Sema, former Chief Minister, who recently resigned as Governor of Himachal Pradesh, got the only seat from the State for the Congress (I).

The lone seat in Tripura went to the CPI (M) (Mr. Narayan Kar) and the three in Kerala were shared by the CPI (M), the Congress (I) and the Muslim League. The Congress (I) retained the only seat at stake in Himachal Pradesh.

The Telugu Desam moved to the third position in the Opposition camp, as its strength doubled from the present five—to 10. The CPI (M) would retain the first position, while the AIADMK is expected to remain second (as a result of elections to replace those due to retire on June 29). The Janata Party, till now third, would now be relegated to the fourth position. The net result of the biennial election, when completed later this year, would be a drop in the Congress (I) strength. It will, however, continue to have a decisive lead over all others combined but move farther away from the two-thirds majority mark. It now has 159 members in a House of 244.

## Discreet understanding in Assam?

Our Guwahati Special Correspondent writes:  
The ruling Asom Gana Parishad won both the Bijoya Satha seats from the Assam Assembly constituency for which elections were held this afternoon. Its candidates Dr. Nagen Saikia and Mrs. Bijoya Chakraborty secured 30 and 36 first preference votes respectively and were declared elected in the first count itself. The United Minorities Front (UMF) candidate, Mr. Kem Prakash Upadhyaya secured 17 votes while Mr. Ahmad Hussain of the Congress (S) secured six votes. The 25-member Congress (I) group abstained from voting as also the two members of the CPI(M). Altogether, 98 votes were polled of which one was declared invalid.

The Congress (I) decision to abstain from the elections facilitated the easy victory of both the AGP candidates. Though calculated "leaks" from the high command in Delhi as well as party leaders in Guwahati suggest that this decision was taken to make manifest the Congress (I)'s opposition to the UMF, the possibility of a more calculated but even more discreet understanding with the ruling party in Assam cannot be ruled out. The decision not to set up a candidate of its own and indeed not to take part at all in the elections has not been uniformly welcomed in Congress (I) circles here.

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INDIA

## EDITORIAL WRITERS ASSESS CPI PARTY CONGRESS

V.D. Chopra in PATRIOT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Mar 86 p 4

[Article by V.D. Chopra]

[Text]

Though in the communist idiom, every party Congress is described as a "landmark", or a "turning point" in the history of the communist movement, the Patna Congress of the CPI did reveal certain new trends. These are new in the sense that they underline the mood of the communist cadres working at the grass-root level and has impact, both on the party leadership and in the direction of the party policies. Therefore, any assessment of the CPI Congress, which ignores this aspect and is mainly directed at the goings-on in the party leadership, including elimination of certain leaders from the highest party organ, the Central Executive Committee, would be lop-sided.

Perhaps for the first time, the CPI cadres exhibited remarkable political courage and maturity in articulating the day-to-day problems they are facing in the mass movements. They are worried that the threat to India's unity, integrity and security has assumed dangerous proportions. This has become for them a living question, though their perception about the danger varied from State to State and region to region.

These threats are no more academic problems for them, for discussion by the ideologues and theoreticians of the party. These have become part of their life, and at every step they have begun to feel their impact. In Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and in some areas of the North-East, the very existence of the communist movement and the mass organisations are at stake.

A new patriotic fervour was clearly discernible among the delegates who had assembled at Patna to give a final shape to the line of action of the party. "What will happen to India, if the neo-colonialist pressures and the influence of internal reaction go on increasing at the present pace?" This became an animated topic of discussion among the delegates, outside the Congress pandal. This obviously shows that the rank and file of the CPI had come to attend the Congress primarily to get an answer to the question: How to stem the tide of forces of national disintegration on the one hand and military encirclement of India on the other.

The party cadres seemed to be agreed that the course of India's

economic development was along the capitalist path. There was agreement also about the "specific characteristics" of Indian capitalism, though these characteristics were not clearly formulated. The CPI cadres also seemed to be clear in their minds that there was a qualitative difference between India and Pakistan, both in terms of their course of economic development and political superstructure.

What was agitating the communist cadres most was the logic of this course of economic development — with its growing disparities, unemployment, pauperisation of the poor and marginal farmers and the general economic backwardness of vast tracts of India. Whatever may be the perception of the communist cadres of the role of the Rajiv Gandhi government in the global struggle against war, nuclear war in particular, its "open door" economic policies have created widespread apprehension in its minds.

Some of them asked me: Is the Congress not sliding back from the Nehruite parameters of economic development? Is it not a fact that multinationals played decisive role in destabilising Chile and one



among them was the notorious owner of the Coca Cola? Did not Indira Gandhi mention about this fact in her speech at Kama Gata Maru (Chandigarh) Session of the Congress? These questions indeed are relevant and need an answer. What is important to note is the level of political awareness of the communist workers and their inquiry to analyse the problems facing India from multi-dimensional angles.

Two facets of the current Indian reality — the growing threat to India's unity, security and integrity, and economic deterioration of the people — have baffled the communist workers the most. Abstract generalisations like "dialectical relationship" between the two had not helped them in the past. They ask: How to carry out both these tasks simultaneously, in terms of our mass experience and political consciousness? They may not have got an immediate answer.

Perhaps never before in the history of the communist movement in India, the question of religious revivalism attracted so much attention as the Patna Congress did. For a variety of reasons communist workers were agitated over the ideological plane of the issue. Till recently the social forces which are the bearers of religious fundamentalism, drew their strength from the various groups of the middle classes. But of late these have become a mass force, and begun to influence mass organisations like the trade unions, kisan sabhas, students movement, youth organisations and so on. What was the reason behind this new orientation to fanaticism — Hindu, Muslim and Sikh? Why has mysticism gripped the mind of a large section of the population, including Congressmen? Why in the traditional strongholds of the Left movement, parochialism and regionalism have become mass forces?

In this backdrop the controversy over "conclave politics" needs to be seen. One thing is certain: the CPI in the coming days will follow a "realistic" policy with a view to "isolate the Bharatiya Janata Party and defeat its attempt to build a rightist alternative, as well as the attempt of NTR to build an

all-India opposition unity to fight elections". This, however, does not rule out the possibility of the entire Opposition, including the CPI, joining hands on certain specific issues such as price rise. But a vociferous minority in the party was even opposed to this limited cooperation.

Another important feature of the Patna Congress was the CPI's bold decision to forge communist unity. This is of far reaching significance, notwithstanding the fact that during the last one year the relations between the CPI and CPI-M have deteriorated further.

Significance of this new direction of the CPI approach should be understood, keeping in mind certain factors. The attitude of the CPI-M towards the CPI has been that of a "big brother", underlining that it is a bigger party than the CPI in terms of its strength in Parliament. This factor is further compounded by the fact that the CPI-M is in power in West Bengal and Tripura. In these states where the CPI-M is stronger than the CPI, the CPI-M leaders display "hegemonistic" tendencies; in others where the CPI-M is weaker than the CPI, the CPI-M leadership willy-nilly joins hands with everyone. This tendency, according to the CPI workers, retards the process of unification between the two parties.

"They are opposed to the idea of enhancing and raising Left unity to a stage where it can become a rallying point for the Left-democratic-oriented masses in today's situation. Due to a sectarian understanding and desire to dominate, they are unwilling to join together wherever they feel they are not in a dominating position over us", the CPI document says.

CPI-M leadership has been emphasising that the question of communist unity could not be seen in isolation from the causes which led to the split in the Indian communist movement. This line has deeper implications than what appears on the surface, that the CPI leadership should concede that the split took place because the dominant leadership of the CPI was fol-

lowing a "revisionist" policy. It also involves a number of national and international ideological issues. The CPI leadership at the moment is not in a mood to give in on these issues.

On the other hand, the CPI leadership is pleading with the CPI-M leadership that instead of making a post mortem of the past issues, the two parties should identify areas of common understanding about the current national and international situation.

The CPI leadership believes that the split in the communist movement had done an irreparable damage to the communist movement and these wounds now should be healed in the larger interests of India; of the democratic forces in particular.

Another feature of the Patna Congress was that in the rank and file of the party, a marked pro-CPSU swing was clearly visible. Though in today's complex international situation, all the communist parties function independently and evolve their own policies, unity in the international communist movement has become a key factor in the existing correlation of forces between the two world systems — socialist and capitalist.

In this backdrop, emergence of "Euro-communism" in some West European countries did blur the perspective. In India, CPI-M's stand of "equi-distance" between the Soviet and the Chinese Communist Parties played almost a similar role, though of late the CPI-M has changed its stand.

Pro-CPSU swing brings into sharp focus that the CPI cadres are keen to learn from the experience of the CPSU. This means that prospects of emergence of an Indian variety of "Euro-communism" in India have further receded in the background.

This impression is not based on any speculation, nor is it based on subjective estimate. It was revealing that a fairly big section of the CPI cadres knew about the new direction of the CPSU's policies, both internal and external. At the bookshops one noticed that books on Marxism and Leninism were in

big demand, particularly by the younger cadres of the CPI. It obviously showed that there was the urge to learn and to go back to the basic understanding of Marxist theory. This was a refreshing experience.

Finally, the main orientation of the CPI workers was that their party should become strong, more unified politically and ideologically and thus become an effective instrument of social change. That being their political consciousness, any overt or covert move that weakens their party evoked violent reaction from them. They may or may not agree with the political policy of the dominant leadership; they may also be critical about the

working of the party leadership both at the centre and in the states, but they were determined to resist any move which weakened their party and created fissures in their ranks.

To say this does not mean that the communist workers have closed their mind. They are willing to discuss political issues frankly, but do not want another split in the party. As one of them put it, "We had two splits, one major and one minor... Another split would mean liquidation of the party and that is what we will not allow". He was articulating the mood of younger elements in the party.

From every angle, the dominant

mood of the CPI workers was to evolve policy parameters, which strengthened India's unity and integrity, took it towards a path which lead to regeneration of economy with socialist orientation and enabled India to play its role in the explosive world situation in keeping with the aspirations of the Indian people. They were not only in a mood of introspection, but searching for a mass line.

In this backdrop, the CPI leadership has a very heavy responsibility on its shoulders.

The CPI may be a small force; nevertheless, it is a national party and the challenges it faces are enormous.

#### A.S. Abraham in TIMES OF INDIA

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 86 p 8

[Article by A.S. Abraham]

[Text]

**BHATINDA**, 1978; Varanasi, 1982; Patna, 1986. The 11th, 12th and 13th general conferences, respectively, of the Communist Party of India (CPI) are milestones marking the party's progression towards a less and less ambiguously anti-Congress line. At Patna, the party's new national council was even directed to set up a commission to redraft, within a year of its constitution and in the light of the changing national and global situation, the CPI's 22-year-old policy frame.

The decision is all the more significant because the Communist Party of India (Marxist), the country's major communist party, has consistently seen the 1964 line as evidence of the fundamental differences between it and the CPI that led to the split in the undivided party in that year, when the CPM came into existence, and that still keeps them apart.

In 1964, the CPI set itself the task of establishing a "national democratic government", while the CPM saw its goal as the attainment of a

"people's democratic government" under the direction of the working class. The crux of the matter was that the CPI was prepared to deal with what it regarded as the progressive, nationalist sections which, under Mrs. Indira Gandhi, led the Congress, the major vehicle of "bourgeois" nationalism, while to the CPM the Congress was anathema and did not in the main represent progressive, "bourgeois", nationalism.

Does the CPI now mean to bring its long-standing policy in line with the CPM's as a prelude to the merger of the two parties? Both the CPI spokesman, Mr. Inderjit Gupta, and the CPM general secretary, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad, have decried talk of a merger, the latter preferring to speak of "unity of action", while the political resolution the CPI adopted at Patna says, somewhat patronisingly, that since the CPM has in recent years moved closer to the positions of the international communist movement, there would be no point in harping on the past. So a merger may be

some way away, but both parties appear to be edging towards it or, at least, are deliberately softening their previous mutual animosity.

#### View Of Things

It is clear, though, that their growing ideological proximity is due to the CPI veering round since Bhatinda, and most markedly now at Patna, to the CPM's view of things. So much so that *New Age*, the CPI weekly (March 9) ran an article before the 13th general conference by M. Farooqi which says: "Politically, we are the closest—closer than ever before". While deploring the "sectarian attitude of the leadership of the CPI(M)"—the "leadership", mind you—, it says: "In any case, the party will continue to work for closer unity in action... the CPI, of course, has the perspective of unification of the communist movement".

If, between 1982 at Varanasi and Patna now, the CPI's developing anti-Congress line has toughened to the point where it seeks, through mass peasant and worker struggles, to bring about the unity of the left

and to draw in all democratic sections and classes in order to replace "the bourgeois rule at the Centre by a government of left and democratic unity", it is mainly because, during that period, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has taken his mother's place as Prime Minister and leader of the Congress party. Whatever residual hope the CPI may have had in being able to find something congenial to it in Mrs. Gandhi's populist-inspired politics, that hope quickly vanished once her son took over after her assassination and, following his spectacular victory in December 1984, set about putting his own ideological stamp on the system.

The attack on the Rajiv Gandhi set-up is essentially on his domestic, especially his economic liberalisation, policies. The March 9 *New Age* editorial urges the party congress "to take note of the fact that while the Rajiv Gandhi government is following the country's foreign policy of peace, anti-imperialism, support to national liberation movements and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, at home it is following reactionary policies which are harmful to the nation's interests... The latest union budget claims to boost the public sector and the (government's) anti-poverty programmes...

"In reality, the government is continuing with its pro-rich anti-poor economic policies. The concessions to the rich, both individual and corporate, continue. The drive against the public sector continues with the latest decision to close some of the textile units by the prime minister himself. The policies of privatisation and liberalisation, including in imports, also continue. There is no slackening in the crazy rush for computers and import of so-called modern technology...

## Widespread Criticism

"These policies have evoked widespread criticism within the country not only from the left parties but other democratic forces and also from many within the ruling party itself. This shows the possibility of the widest mobilisation of the masses against (these) anti-people policies... a mobilisation which will at the crest of the mass struggles and deeper worker-peasant alliance bring about the unity of all left and democratic forces..."

Thus has the CPI moved, in the nine years since the searing ex-

perience of the 1975-77 emergency, from strategic support of the Congress, not incompatible with strong tactical opposition to specific Congress actions and policies, to strategic opposition to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's Congress and government, qualified only by continuing endorsement of his broadly "anti-imperialist" foreign policy. There is no doubt that the rethinking, first evident at Bhatinda, was necessitated by the party's near-total loss of radical credibility after its slavish support of the emergency, its later criticism of that authoritarian spell doing little to restore its by then already sullied image.

So long as Mrs. Gandhi was around, however, the switch to a less equivocally anti-Congress posture could not be forced. Although she had initiated the policy of improving ties with the United States, she remained primarily a nationalist leader only too keenly aware of how the country's interests had to be safeguarded against foreign economic or political encroachment. But once she had gone and the CPI concluded that her son, while paying lip-service to her policies, was actually reversing them, once it was convinced that his embrace of high-tech development would entail the penetration of the Indian economy by the very international capitalist forces to which the party was viscerally averse, there was no longer any need to mute its opposition. As a result, too, it has come closer to the CPM.

As it happens, the *detente* with the CPM as well as the emphasis on "mass struggles and (a) deeper worker-peasant alliance" well suits a party that on its own has little clout worth speaking of. In the 1984 Lok Sabha poll, it won six seats, down from 11 in 1980 and the fewest it has ever won. By contrast, the CPM got 22 seats which, although well below its 1980 tally of 36, was still respectable. Nor has the CPI covered itself with glory at assembly elections. In Bihar, once one of its strongholds, its representation has slipped, over the last three contests, from 35 to 23 to 12. Very much in the doldrums, it has not been able to grow much either or to enthuse its dispirited followers. It hopes to put things right by helping to stir up opposition-backed mass discontent over issues like the pre-budget price hikes in some essential commodities.

## Conclave Politics

Significantly, those at the Patna congress opposed to the policy laid down at Varanasi of joining hands with other opposition parties in anti-Congress "conclave politics"—the opposition gatherings in 1983-84 at Vijayawada, Delhi, Srinagar and Calcutta—sought to introduce an amendment to the draft political resolution that would have kept the CPI aloof from such common enterprises. They favoured an *akela chal* (go it alone) approach. But the amendment was rejected by 593 to 93, an overwhelming endorsement of the leadership's view that the party's best bet for the foreseeable future is to combine with others in causing the ruling party the maximum discomfiture. The leadership, like the rank-and-file, knows that trying to stand alone when the party commands such insignificant battalions would be suicidal.

As the CPI reaches out to the CPM, while coyly pretending not to, wishes to join the rest of the opposition to compensate for its own pitiful strength, and seeks to embarrass the ruling party through mass agitations since it cannot aspire to involve the people through solitary activity, the reality for the left, including the CPM, is that it has become more and more marginal to the country's politics. It is no use decrying the growth of "communal, obscurantist, fundamentalist, casteist and regional-chauvinist forces", for they have only filled the vacuum that, among other things, the marginalisation of the left has created.

The CPI's history, pre-1947 and thereafter, is marked by the gravest judgmental errors, leading both to the Indian communist movement's fragmentation and to the party's impotence. The CPM, while more robust and successful, has fallen into a regional rut from which it seems to want no escape. The rest of the left, socialists or the variety of extremists, counts for little. That the Congress should be in crisis, although temporarily disguised by its 1984 victory, or that the non-left national opposition should be no less ineffective than the left, is no consolation to the latter. As regional and parochial forces come to the fore and the system comes more and more under siege, the left can do little other than conjure up visions of the revolutionary apocalypse it is too anaemic to bring about.

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CSO: 4600/1608

INDIA

ANALYST ON EFFORTS TOWARD NEW DIALOGUE WITH PAKISTAN

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 26.

Efforts are being made behind the scenes to evolve a mutually acceptable basis for an early resumption of the stalled Indo-Pakistani dialogue that could logically lead step by step to a visit by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to Islamabad later this year, to conclude a treaty of friendship and peace.

The earlier attempts to carry forward this process with quicker progress in different areas to pave the way for the proposed visit by the Prime Minister around June have been thwarted by Pakistan's increasing involvement in the Punjab and Kashmir developments.

**Protestations of innocence:** The Indian Ambassador, Mr. S. K. Singh, who had been called to Delhi early this month for consultations, came with a personal message from Gen. Zia-ul-Haq to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi with protestations of innocence and promises of better behaviour in future to allay Indian misgivings about Pakistan's intentions. He went back to Islamabad with a reply from Mr. Rajiv Gandhi stressing the imperative need for restoring India's confidence in Gen. Zia's good faith by refraining from any further interference in the country's domestic problems.

After conveying this outspoken message to the Pakistan President, which was reinforced by the candid talk that the Prime Minister himself had with his counterpart, Mr. Mohammed Khan Junejo, the Indian Ambassador is now back in Delhi with a fresh communication from Gen. Zia urging an early resumption of the interrupted dialogue. The Pakistan Foreign Minister, Mr. Yaqub Ali Khan, who will be visiting Delhi in mid-April for the non-aligned Foreign Ministers' conference, would like to meet the Prime Minister and have a candid discussion with External Affairs Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, on what requires to be done to get this dialogue into stride again.

**Convincing actions:** Apart from its persistent attempts to foment disaffection in Kashmir and arouse religious animosities by inciting the secessionist elements, the continued Pakistani involvement in Punjab followed by its increasing moral and material assistance to Sri Lanka in the campaign against Tamil sub-nationalism has strained Indo-Pakistan relations. The Indian Ambassador will ask for a meeting with Gen. Zia on his return to Islamabad to stress that Pakistan's oft-repeated professions of goodwill must be matched by convincing actions to reassure India that it is genuinely interested in reconciliation, before anything else can be done to resume the talks on normalisation.

Apart from refraining from further covert or overt involvement in Punjab and Kashmir, Pakistan will be required to keep out of the Sri Lankan developments. Mr. Bhagat repeated the charge of a "growing military nexus" between Sri Lanka and Pakistan on Friday in his reply to the debate in Parliament on his Ministry's demands for grants.

**No delaying of talks:** Once this missing element of confidence is restored to some extent, India will expect Pakistan to adhere faithfully to the agreed time-table of talks for normalisation without dragging its feet and delaying the process with flimsy excuses. The starting point for this resumption will be an early meeting in Delhi between senior officials of the two sides to follow up the understanding reached during the visit of the Finance Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, to Islamabad on trade. This has to be followed by meetings of the remaining two sub-commissions due to be held in Delhi before Mr. Bhagat goes to Islamabad for the ministerial meeting of the Joint Commission.

The talks between the two Defence Secretaries on the Siachen Glacier issue will be continued at a different level without linking this

Issue with improvement of relations in the economic sphere. Any attempt by Pakistan to occupy a part of this glacier area by resorting to surprise military action after the snow-bound mountain passes become accessible in May-June could lead to grave consequences.

**Climate of confidence:** The Government of India wants a climate of confidence to be created at different levels by taking positive steps for normalisation in the economic sphere before the delicate political question of a comprehensive peace treaty built around a no-war concept can be given practical shape. This can be done only if Pakistan refrains from taking up the Kashmir issue and reaffirms its readiness to settle all outstanding disputes bilaterally in the true spirit of the Simla agreement besides offering credible assurances that it has no desire to get drawn into super power rivalries by offering military facilities to either of them.

After he became Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has met Gen. Zia as many as six times. During all these discussions, the Pakistani President made no firm commitment on any of the fundamental issues dividing the two countries other than repeating his old platitudes and talking reassuringly of his desire for good-neighbourly relations. And what India is now seeking is tangible evidence of his sincerity of both purpose and action before resuming the stalled dialogue with Pakistan.

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CSO: 4600/1611

INDIA

## TAMIL LEADER HOLDS MADRAS PRESS CONFERENCE

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Mar 86 p 9

[Text]

MADRAS, March 25.

About 300 bombs dropped by Sri Lankan Air Force planes on Tamil civilian areas in North Sri Lanka in air raids from February 19 were supplied by Pakistan to Sri Lanka, demonstrating the growing nexus between these two countries, said Mr. A. S. Balasingham, official spokesman of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) here today.

Addressing a press conference, at which he showed an unexploded bomb, pieces of mortar-shells and a bullet, all used on Tamil civilian areas, he said that the LTTE "strongly suspects that these bombs were supplied by Pakistan". Though they had no particular Pakistan markings, the LTTE's military intelligence revealed that they were Pakistan-made, which "confirmed the nexus between Pakistan and Sri Lanka and the increasing militarisation of Sri Lanka by Pakistan," he said. Several houses were destroyed and hundreds injured in these air raids, he said.

China promises aid: China was also gradually getting involved in the issue. The Chinese President was in Sri Lanka recently and China had promised a loan of 400 million Sri Lankan rupees and supply of arms and fast-moving boats to the island, proving the China-Sri Lanka axis also, he said.

Answering a question on Sri Lanka National Security Minister, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali's announcement on suspension of air raids on Tamil militants' hideouts for one week from March 15, Mr. Balasingham said even though aerial bombardment of civilian areas had stopped, artillery and mortar bombardment from the army camps continued.

The Tamil groups did not take his announcement seriously because it was done unilaterally

without consulting the Government of India or the Tamil liberation groups.

Besides, the Minister had "insinuated" that militants were ferrying arms and men across the Palk Strait. The artillery shelling and mortar firing from inside the army camps were more damaging than aerial bombardment because

people found it difficult to take cover. During air raids, people could run to safer places because of the noise of the planes, he said.

**No protection:** The bombs were dropped by, Sia Marchetti planes and some of them were piloted by ex-SAS mercenaries and Pakistan

pilots as shown by the radio messages intercepted by the LTTE, its spokesman alleged. The Tamil groups did not have an aerial defence system to protect the civilians.

The unexploded bomb displayed in the press conference was 135 cm tall and weighed 55 kg. It was dropped at Thavadi in Jaffna on February 19. On the changing attitude of India towards Sri Lanka, he expressed the hope that the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, had realised that Sri Lanka could not be trusted.

Replying to a question, he said "we strongly suspect that a TULF representative is having talks with Sri Lanka Government... It is an act which goes against the aspirations of the people."

The withdrawal of Sri Lankan army from the Northern and Eastern parts of the island would be a pre-condition of the resumption of talks with the Sri Lanka Government. The Northern province was under the control of the militants as also some areas in the Eastern province, he said.

The Eelam National Liberation Front was not a functioning entity now because of the problems within the organisation. He hoped the conditions of war prevailing in Sri Lanka would make the groups present a united front.

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CSO: 4600/1609

INDIA

PETROLEUM MINISTRY ISSUES ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1985-86

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Mar 86 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 19.

**T**HE indigenous production of crude oil was expected to be 29.94 million tonnes during 1985-86, according to the annual report of the ministry of petroleum and natural gas for 1985-86.

Of this total production, 20.61 million tonnes was expected from offshore oil fields and 9.33 million tonnes from onshore fields.

To meet the demand of refineries in the country, 4.3 million tonnes crude oil was proposed to be imported. The total crude through the 12 operating refineries was estimated at 42.13 million tonnes. The total installed capacity of these refineries was 45.55 million tonnes.

The report said that government was exploring the possibility of setting up two new refineries at Karnal and Mangalore in the joint sector.

It was also proposed to remove the bottleneck in the Mathura refinery and increase the capacity of its distillation unit from six million tonnes to 7.5 million tonnes. A low-cost revamping of the Gujarat refinery was also proposed to be taken up to increase its capacity from 7.3 million tonnes to 9.5 million tonnes.

**STORAGE CAPACITY**

Meanwhile, the project to increase petroleum products storage capacity to provide 45 days cover was being implemented in two phases. Operation Phase One expected to cost Rs. 81.56 crores, has been completed and the remaining portion was expected to be completed by 1986-87.

The consumption of petroleum products during 1985-86 was expected to be 41.54 million tonnes recording a growth of 7.9 per cent over consumption in the previous year. Motor spirit recorded a growth of 9.6 per cent, aviation turbine fuel (ATF)-8 per cent; Kerosene 12.7 per cent; high speed diesel 7.6 per cent and liquified petroleum gas 32.3 per cent.

The report said that to meet the demand in excess of indigenous production, 2.98 million tonnes of aviation turbine fuel/kerosene, 1.10 million tonnes of HSD/light diesel oil, 1.30 million tonnes of fuel oil/low sulphur heavy stock and 0.40 million tonnes of other products were expected to be imported during the year.

Some of the major achievements in the field of exploration highlighted include oil and gas discoveries at Narsapur and Kaza structures in Krishna Godavari, in Andhra Pradesh, Narimanam in Cauvery, Tamil Nadu and B-74, D-18, Panna East, B-172 structure in Bombay offshore.

During the year regular crude production was started from three new structures — Dahej, Balol and Wasna in Gujarat.

The report said that natural gas production till December, 1985, was 5,926 million cubic metres. Of this total, 2,227 million cubic metres came from onshore areas in Assam, Gujarat and Arunachal Pradesh and 3,699 million cubic metres came from offshore fields. Gas supplies during 1985-86 were expected to be 83.7 million cubic metres from onshore.

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CSO: 4600/1596

INDIA

## DELHI SEEKS AID IN MODERNIZING STEEL INDUSTRY

Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 19.

The Government is negotiating with several countries, including Britain, West Germany, Japan and the Soviet Union, for high technology to modernise India's ailing steel industry by replacing obsolete equipment and switching over to more advanced methods of production.

In response to a request made by the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, during his visit to Tokyo at the end of last year, the Japanese Government sent recently a technical mission to take a look at the Indian steel plants and discuss the possibilities of cooperation in modernising the Indian Iron and Steel Company's (IISCO) works at Burnpur in West Bengal with a yen credit.

A feasibility study will be conducted by another team in June or July to assess the potential for expansion and upgrading the technology of this old and outdated plant with an installed capacity of one million tonnes. The yen credit needed to finance the foreign exchange component of the modernisation programme would be discussed later by the two Governments.

**Upgrading Rourkela Plant:** The West German Chancellor, Mr. Helmut Kohl, who will be paying a three-day visit to Delhi on his way to Tokyo for the summit of the western industrialised nations, is expected to make an attractive offer to upgrade the Rourkela steel plant, designed and built by a German consortium in the mid-1960s. There will be preliminary discus-

sions between the experts of the two countries before the Chancellor's visit so that a decision on the West German offer could be announced by him in Delhi.

The British Government is equally interested in extending a helping hand in modernising the Durgapur plant built by a U.K. group in the mid-1950s. The Soviet Union which had built the Bhilai plant in late 1950s and supplied much of the equipment for the Bokaro plant is also bidding hard for the expansion and modernisation of these two plants.

**Railway communications:** But the high-tech assistance that India is seeking from Japan is not limited to the renovation of the Burnpur plant. It also extends to the sphere of advanced railway communications, particularly for controlling the high speed express train movements in the country with computerised systems.

Another project for which India is seeking Japanese credit and technical assistance is a gas turbine power plant in Assam along with the latest transmission lines. The Japanese Government has also offered to expand the Sanjay Gandhi Post-Graduate Institute of Medical Sciences in Lucknow and instal at this institution the most sophisticated diagnostic equipment.

The Government hopes to double steel production by the turn of this century from the present level of roughly 10 million tonnes by expanding and modernising the existing plants, besides stepping it up by another five to 10 million tonnes by building new plants, including the one still under construction at Visakhapatnam.

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CSO: 4600/1598



INDIA

## UPPER HOUSE PASSES BILL IN INTERSTATE WATER DISPUTES

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 20  
(PTI).

**T**HE Rajya Sabha today passed the inter-state water disputes (amendment) bill, 1986, providing for the appointment of a tribunal to verify the shares of the Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan in the Ravi-Beas waters as on July 1, 1985.

The house passed the bill after negating a statutory resolution moved by Mr. Jaswant Singh (BJP) and others seeking to disapprove the Ravi and Beas waters tribunal ordinance, 1986, promulgated by the President on January 24.

Mr. Jaswant Singh later withdrew four amendments he had moved, seeking a specific assurance that the interests of Rajasthan as it existed on July 1, 1985, would not be affected by the tribunal in verifying the claims of the three states.

Both Mr. B. Shankaranand, minister for water resources, who replied to the discussion, and two of his senior cabinet colleagues, Mr. A. K. Sen, law minister, and Mr. P. Shiv Shankar, minister for commerce, who inter-

vened in the discussion, allayed BJP and Lok Dal fears that the interests of Haryana or Rajasthan would suffer.

They stressed that the bill was brought before Parliament not because of political pressure from the Akali Dal or the Punjab government but to implement the Punjab accord and in the larger interests of the country.

They also maintained that Parliament is competent to pass legislation pertaining to river waters though it was a state subjects.

Mr. Shankaranand thanked the members for reaching unanimity in passing the bill in the interest of implementing the Punjab accord.

The tribunal, headed by a supreme court judge, would also determine the quantity of surplus waters of the Ravi-Beas. Rajasthan would have no claim on the surplus waters, as the two rivers did not flow into Rajasthan.

Rajasthan's right to the existing use of water as on July 1, 1985, arose only out of the tripartite agreement between the three states on the share of these waters and not as a riparian state.

The bill will be introduced in the Lok Sabha soon.

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CSO: 4600/1600

INDIA

INDIA SAVES MONEY IN BUILDING OF BEIJING EMBASSY

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Mar 86 p 9

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 21.

The fall in the international exchange rate of the U.S. dollar has not benefited India since the value of the rupee based on a basket of foreign currencies has more or less remained above the level of Rs. 12 to a dollar despite the latter's sharp decline.

Nevertheless, India has been able to save nearly Rs. 1 crore by prudently stipulating that the payment would be made in Chinese yuan and not dollars when it clinched the deal in November last for the purchase of land in Beijing for the Indian embassy premises there.

The agreement provided for the payment of nearly 13 million yuan for roughly seven hectares of land, amounting to approximately Rs. 6 crores. But since there are no direct currency conversion facilities between the countries for a mutually agreed exchange rate, the transaction has to be carried out in terms of the prevailing dollar rates.

The U.S. currency which was relatively high last year fetched around 24 Chinese yuan a year ago, but the Chinese currency has declined sharply since then with the result that despite the appreciable fall in its value, the U.S. dollar now fetches 3.2 Chinese yuan, nearly 25 per cent more than last year's rate.

So India had to shell out only U.S. \$4.2 millions to get 13 million yuan to pay for the land when the Instruments of the "lease" or "lend" agreements were exchanged in Beijing this week. If it had agreed as several other diplomatic missions had done to pay in dollars, India would have been obliged to bear an additional burden of Rs. 1 crore.

This was a neat piece of diplomatic job done with considerable finesse. But then the Chinese paid only Rs. 23 lakhs for over 9.6 hectares in Delhi's diplomatic enclave during the 1950s when land was cheap and given to the big missions at this throwaway price.

Now the poor Third World countries wanting to build their own embassy premises in Delhi have to pay over \$2.5 million a hectare while China at least gave India land in Beijing at what it called a friendship rate far below what it had been selling to affluent nations.

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CSO: 4600/1603

INDIA

GANDHI MESSAGE TO COMMITTEE ON APARTHEID REPORTED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Mar 86 p 3

[Text]

United Nations, March 22 (PTI, UNI): The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has made a veiled criticism of Western countries, who were being taken in by South Africa's claims of impending changes in its apartheid policy.

In a message to a meeting of the special committee against apartheid yesterday, Mr Gandhi said the record of racial oppression in racist South Africa over the past year had been "more sordid" than ever before.

The Prime Minister's message to the committee, on the occasion of the international day for the elimination of racial discrimination, was read out by the Indian Ambassador, Mr Nataraajan Krishnan.

Mr Gandhi, in his message, noted that the international community as a whole had kept the issue of apartheid under constant focus and extended moral and political support.

"However, a few countries with large economic stakes in South Africa, have been persuaded by the regime to believe

that reforms are on the way," Mr Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister said in recent months the regime had announced its intention to change or repeal some obnoxious legislation but had not moved an inch towards what was basic—equal rights for all races.

He pledged continued support to the legitimate rights of the majority population in South Africa, who, he said, must join the comity of free peoples at the earliest.

In his statement, Mr Krishnan reiterated the conviction of India and other nonaligned countries that only comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime "will work."

Mr Krishnan welcomed the forthcoming world conference on sanctions against South Africa to be held in Paris in June this year as a further opportunity to demonstrate the international community's common determination through common action.

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CSO: 4600/1604

INDIA

# PURCHASE OF BRITISH HELICOPTERS, WARSHIP SCORED

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 25 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by M. J. Akbar]

[Text]

London, March 24: The capitulation of the government of India to pressure from the British government over the purchase of 21 Westland W30 helicopters is being viewed in knowledgeable circles who have interests at heart as nothing short of a national disgrace. And as if this were not enough, we have also agreed to purchase the aircraft carrier, Hermes, which Britain was going to literally junk for £40 million.

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, himself described the Westland helicopter on the floor of Parliament as "unsuitable to" our needs. In fact, we have proved to be more loyal to Britain than even the Royal Air Force, which has refused to purchase the Westland helicopter. There is such unanimous consensus that this helicopter is a bad machine that Westland has been forced to discontinue production. The 21 helicopters we will purchase will be the last in the line.

As anyone with any sense knows, maintenance and spare parts are the key to the proper utilisation of any fleet of planes, a fact which should be clearer to the Prime Minister,

with his background, that anyone else. On paper, the British have assured a supply for spare parts. But this is viewed by a senior Indian expert, who is one of our most respected diplomats abroad and has been involved in the negotiations about whether we should buy the Westland machine or the French Dauphine, as a most dubious assurance. With the production of the very model being discontinued, the chances of getting spare parts on time are remote. The greater likelihood is that of the helicopters being grounded most of the time. It is true that the payment of these machines is coming through the £65 million British "aid" (which, incidentally, London said, would not be offered if we did not buy these unreliable machines) package, but the nation will have to bear the cost of maintenance on operation which will not only nullify the minor advantage but make the machines more costly in the long run.

Even worse is the scandalous decision to actually purchase the aircraft carrier, Hermes, which Britain had already decided to scrap in its junkyards.

We have not only saved the Tory government of Mrs Margaret Thatcher from spending money on scrapping this ship which has outlived its utility, but will actually be paying foreign exchange for both the ship and its special equipment.

These decisions are being rationalised by the foreign office in Delhi and its current representative in London, Dr P.C. Alexander, as necessary to maintain the "special relationship" between India and Britain. Naturally, with such scalps in the bag, the foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, will have a most satisfactory visit to India when he comes over in a few days during the Easter recess.

The most infuriating aspect of this alleged "special relationship," being so heavily touted by Delhi's mandarins, is that it seems to work only in one direction. In spite of the fact that foreign minister Baliram Bhagat has repeatedly expressed in our Parliament his unhappiness over the way the government of Margaret Thatcher has been playing an outrageously duplicitous role over Sikh extremists, we con-

tinue to bend over backwards to appease London where it really matters. Where nations like Canada and West Germany have cooperated with Delhi, Britain not only finds it difficult to frame charges against people who openly indulge in pro-Khalistan activities, but goes out of its way to provide crucial facilities like housing. A good example is that of Jaswant Singh Thekedar, who came two years ago to sing at gurdwaras and has stayed on to help organise anti-Indian propaganda. The government of India has formally asked for his extradition, but Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who is so tough about terrorists elsewhere, has suddenly become a great liberal protector in his case.

Britain has not complied with the request for extradition. Instead, Jaswant Singh has been given a council house which is low-rent (and in this particular case, very spacious) accommodation meant only for residents of Britain. Apparently, immigration is no problem for a Tory government when it comes to anti-Indians seeking shelter.

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CSO: 4600/1606

INDIA

LOBBYING AGAINST WORLD BANK AID TO INDIA REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Mar 86 p 1

[Text]

A concerted campaign has been started in certain European countries to prevent the World Bank from financing various irrigation projects in India to which the international agency is already committed.

The campaign, to which the attention of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has been drawn, is aimed at lobbying opinion against India on the grounds that sufficient care is not taken by the country to protect the environment and to rehabilitate those displaced by the irrigation projects.

The body which is spearheading the movement against India in EZE, a West German "voluntary" organisation, with the help of certain people in the country and the non-government organisations associated with the World Bank such as the Gandhi Peace Foundation.

This obstructionist campaign came to light with the interception of a letter, written by Ms G Fischer-Wilms, a senior functionary of the EZE, in-charge of its Middle East and South Asia desk, to an Indian documentary film-maker Tapan Bose.

In the letter Ms Fischer-Wilms informs Mr Bose that campaigns have been started in West Germany to mobilise public opinion against World Bank funded dam projects in India. It also says that certain "Third World action groups" and journalists have been

enlisted in this campaign.

What is curious is the kind of interest these foreign organisations are showing in Indian developmental projects. Ostensibly, their concern stems from the "danger to the ecology" and the plight of those displaced by the dam projects.

Government sources, however, say that ecology and environment are mere covers for carrying out an anti-India campaign. Some Indians, either wittingly or unwittingly, are helping this campaign by carrying out research projects with foreign funds and supplying their findings, that often take a one-sided view of the subject, to the foreign groups.

Some of these Indian organisations have also been charged with supplying sensitive and classified information to foreign agencies. In the past the Gandhi Peace Foundation is reported to have provided maps of restricted areas in the Indo-Chinese border areas to the EZE.

In this case, the EZE-coordinated campaign is directed mainly against two World Bank funded dam projects—the Sardar Sarovar dam in Gujarat and the Narmada Valley project in Madhya Pradesh.

A letter written by one Ms Patricia Adams, said to be associated with Gandhi Peace Foundation, to the Ca-

nadian finance minister and governor of IBDR and IMF Michael Wilson has also been intercepted by the Indian Government.

In it Ms Adams asks Mr Wilson to use his influence with the World Bank and block credit for the Sardar Sarovar dam because the Gujarat Government was only giving cash compensation to the displaced people, not alternative plots.

Officials wonder why a foreign national should go out of her way to lobby against international aid to India when the project will actually help thousands of farmers and compensation as per agreements was being given to the displaced.

The Sardar Sarovar dam project is envisaged to cost \$ 1933.5 million out of which \$ 435 million is being mobilised through external agencies like the World Bank.

A similar campaign against the Narmada Valley project is going on ostensibly because the ecology will be disturbed by the development of the area.

Observers say that these campaigns are actually mischievous attempts to starve India of external aid when it is particularly required for developmental activity. They also say that the Government should nip the mischief in the bud lest it succeeds in its subversive goal.

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CSO: 4600/1610

INDIA

## DETAILS OF ARTILLERY PURCHASE FROM SWEDEN GIVEN

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Mar 86 p 1

[Article by G.K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, March 25.

At long last, after dithering for over six years, the Defence Ministry signed an agreement with Sweden yesterday for initial purchase and subsequent manufacture of 155 mm artillery for the Indian Army, involving a total expenditure of over Rs. 1,200 crores.

The agreement was due to be signed last Friday, but at the last moment, France sprang a surprise by submitting a revised offer in an attempt to reopen the negotiations when it seemed that the deal was about to be clinched with Sweden.

After a fresh reappraisal, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, who is also Minister for Defence, gave the green signal for signing this agreement with Sweden. The French are now hoping that at least the HBJ pipeline contract would be awarded to the Spie-Capug-NKK-Toyo combine, a joint Franco-Japanese consortium which has submitted the lowest quotation for this equally massive contract.

**France had an early edge:** At one stage of these protracted parleys for 155 mm gun, it seemed that France was all set to bag this big deal since it had a decisive edge over the other three contenders—Austria, Britain and Sweden. But after Austria and Britain were eliminated from the race, Sweden emerged as a strong competitor offering an equally superior gun, incorporating the latest technological innovations.

The Defence Ministry has decided to acquire in the first instance an adequate number of these highly sophisticated artillery pieces in towed version with the necessary tractors, spares and ammunition to meet the Army's more immediate requirements, before embarking on licensed manufacture of self-propelled ones, using the Vijayanta or T-72 chassis and engine. It would naturally take a few years to set up the requisite ordnance facilities for producing a heavy gun of this calibre along with dif-

ferent types of ammunition for use under varying battle conditions.

**Pak. acquisition:** The need for such high calibre artillery with a range of 34 to 36 kilometres was felt as far back as 1980 when the U.S. started supplying 155 mm howitzers to Pakistan in the wake of the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan. The Pakistani Army has so far received about 75 towed ones and 100 self-propelled ones, besides a large number of earlier versions of the same range, but equipped with less sophisticated firing systems.

The Government of India tried to acquire the same guns from the U.S. in limited numbers on cash payment, but the deal fell through since the U.S. refused to agree to co-production arrangements. The U.S. also insisted on reserving the right to suspend the supply of spares and ammunition and even cancelling the transaction anytime, for political reasons.

**The clinching factor:** The biggest artillery piece in use in the Soviet Union is the 152 mm field gun with a range of only 30 km while the French and Swedish guns were found to be comparable, and in some respects, even superior, to the American howitzers given to Pakistan. The Indian Army artillery experts left the final choice to the Government, since, in a technological sense, the French and Swedish guns were equally good and, in their opinion, preferable to the one produced by Britain in collaboration with West Germany and Italy as a trinational product with a relatively longer range.

Apart from political considerations, what finally tilted the balance in favour of Sweden was its financial package which was found to be more attractive than the offer made by France. So the last-minute French bid to delay the signing of the agreement with Sweden and, in the process, reopen the negotiations could not persuade the Government of India to defer the long-delayed decision.

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CSO: 4600/1609

INDIA

INDIAN COMPANIES' WORK ON LASERS REVIEWED

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Mar 86 p 18

[Text]

Over 90 research institutions, universities and a few private companies in India are working on various aspects of lasers, like their fabrication, development of laser materials and their applications to different fields like metrology, communications, medicine and isotope separation, and in basic research.

Work on fabrication of lasers has been taken up at a number of institutions which have successfully fabricated nitrogen, carbon dioxide and helium-neon lasers. Scientists believe that indigenous commercial production of nitrogen, argon, helium, cadmium and nitrogen-pumped dye lasers (all by Central Electronics Ltd., Sahibabad), carbon dioxide laser by Advani-Oerlikon and Jyoti, helium-neon by Electronics Corporation of India Ltd., may soon become popular and reliable.

While the argon laser prototype was developed by IIT, Kanpur, the Banaras Hindu University made a pulsed carbon dioxide laser for work on photochemistry. The Marathwada University developed a water di-electric coaxial cable pulsed CO<sub>2</sub> laser. The Bhabha Atomic Research Centre has also done extensive work on carbon dioxide lasers. Several institutions have developed helium neon lasers of various powers. Numerous centres have fabricated nitrogen lasers for their own experiments. They include the Kerala University, IISC, Cochin University, IIT — Bombay, and BHU. The Karnataka University has developed an inexpensive nitrogen laser of power 100 200 kW.

In the field of semiconductor lasers, which differ from other lasers in the energy levels and are considered the most compact of all known lasers, work is going on at BARC and the Solid State Physics Laboratory, Delhi.

A few laboratories like BARC, the Instruments Research & Development Establishment and the Defence Science Laboratory have developed various kinds of solid state lasers. They have developed ruby, Nd:YAG and Nd:glass lasers to varying degrees from imported components. The Central Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Calcutta, is producing Nd-doped, glass and also the corresponding ultraviolet shielding glass to prevent solarisation of

the Nd:glass. Advani-Oerlikon is developing high power Nd:glass and Nd:YAG lasers for production and marketing as industrial lasers for cutting, drilling and heat treatment.

The BARC, Bombay, the IIT — Kanpur and the IISC, Bangalore, have been the major centres with extensive facilities for development of lasers and laser components. Facilities like sophisticated glass blowing shops with capabilities to work on quartz-system, optical shops for grinding and polishing of flats, and optical mirror coating facilities have been set up.

Among the most active centres where theoretical work on lasers or related topics is being carried out are the universities of Allahabad and Hyderabad, IIT — Delhi, BARC, and Tata Institute of Fundamental Research.

Lasers have innumerable applications outside pure science. But due to limited availability of lasers and components the activity is at present very low, except probably in the Defence field, for which details are not available.

**Optical communications**

The IISC-Bangalore is working on the broad engineering aspects of wave guides, fibre-optics links and sensors and optical memories, laser Doppler anemometry for electrical signal processing, and effect of various factors in transmission of laser beam through the atmosphere. The IIT-Delhi has planned for optical waveguide fabrication facility and extending and upgrading the experimental techniques for the characterisation of the first and second generation single and multimode optical fibres and optimisation of optical fibres and development of glass fibres for communications. Another group at the centre is developing a 5 km-long link of fibre optical digital communication system.

IIT — Madras is studying the effect of turbulence on open-air laser communications, and is making feasibility studies on underwater communication, and an infrared (GaAs) laser beam link between two distant computers using pulse-code modulation. It is also developing a fibre-optic laser current transformer.



The Indian Space Research Organisation, Ahmedabad, has extensive involvement in optical data processing and plans to set up lidar systems for satellite tracking and satellite geodesy work. A complete mobile lidar system based on ruby laser has been built by the Vikram Sarabhai Space Centre, Trivandrum, for remote sensing up to 60 km height. It has also built another lidar system based on argon laser for operation on a bistatic mode.

IISc, Bangalore, has used lasers for drilling and annealing experiments, and for micromachining of various metals and non-metals. Advani-Oerlikon plans to produce and market industrial lasers for cutting, drilling and heat treatment. The IIT — Kanpur is making feasibility studies on machining with its CO<sub>2</sub> laser and the IIT — Madras is developing a laser system for cutting an extended polystyrene material.

In the field of metrology, the Central Machine Tools Institute, Bangalore, is measuring the accuracy of machine tools with lasers and the Raman Research Institute, Bangalore, is using laser system in the metrology work for its radiotelescope. Both are developing the related software. The IIT — Madras has designed a tool makers's microscope based on lasers and the National Physical Laboratory has developed line and end gauges as standards of length. The Reactor Research Centre, Kalpakkam, is working on measurements of dimensional changes using holograms and the IIT — Kanpur is studying the general use of lasers for metrology. Jyoti Ltd., Baroda, has made a laser alignment system and has marketed 50 of them to users.

Holographic work on various aspects like imaging, microscopy, conoscopy and interferome-

try is being done at Bombay University, Osmania University, Kashmir University, IISc — Bangalore, IIT — Bombay, IIT — Delhi, IRDE — Dehra Dun, RRC — Kalpakkam and Institute of Armament Technology — Pune.

### Medical applications

Medical Applications have been by and large untouched so far in India because considerable software needs to be developed and safety guidelines are to be established. The IIT — Madras is working in this area for erythrocyte sedimentation profile studies, characterisation of blood, cardiac monitoring by laser speckle, tumour diagnostic through tissue characterisation and establishment of laser safety guidelines. The TIFR is working on model membrane systems and drug-membrane interactions using lasers. A laser photocoagulator has been developed at BARC. The IIT — Kanpur and IIT — Delhi also plan to start work on medical applications of lasers.

The Survey of India is making use of lasers in range finding and geodimetry. The organisation also trains its staff for use of lasers in plumbing, surveying and alignment of tunnels. The BARC has developed range finders based on ruby and Nd:YAG lasers.

In the area of measurements of pollutants through Rayleigh scattering, mention may be made of air pollution measurements at the IIT — Madras and identification of macro-molecules and viruses by laser diffractometer at IIT — Khargpur and IIT — Madras. Laser remote sensing in general and determination of parameters of solid particles suspended in air are being carried out by BARC. — **PTI Science Service**

/9317

CSO: 4600/1609

INDIA

BRIEFS

INDO-FRENCH HELICOPTER DEAL--London, March 25 (PTI)--France has agreed to provide eight Dauphin helicopters free to India under a deal for the supply of 27 such helicopters to be signed later this week, "Financial Times" reported today. The deal, said to be worth \$50 million, will include provision for French soft loans for half the cost of the remaining 19 helicopters at 2.5 percent over 28 years. The helicopters are to be operated by the newly-formed Helicopter Corporation of India. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Mar 86 p 9] /9317

RETURN FROM ANTARCTICA--Panaji, March 24 (PTI)--The fifth Antarctica team which was on a scientific exploration of the icy continent arrived at Mormugua harbour this morning. The chartered ship, "Thuleland" brought back 72 Indian scientists and other men. They were led by Mr M.H. Kaul, a geologist. The team has left behind at the Indian station in Antarctica 15 scientists for another 360 days of winter exploration and study. The team completed 120 days in the camp after they left here on November 30 last year. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Mar 86 p 14] /9317

SGPC CHIEF--Amritsar, March 23--Mr Kabul Singh was unanimously elected president of the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee, at its annual general meeting held in the Teja Singh Samudri hall today. He replaces Mr Gurcharan Singh Tohra, who had resigned early this month after holding this office for nearly 14 years. Mr Rattan Singh Aloran was elected senior vice-president in place of Mr Kabul Singh. One hundred and one of the 160-member House attended today's two-hour meeting. The actual strength of the SGPC is 143, with several members having died and one having been removed from membership. The five head priests are ex-officio members without any right of vote. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Mar 86 p 1] /9317

GANDHI TRAVEL PLANS--New Delhi, March 22--The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, will be visiting at the end of May the five frontline States in Southern Africa--Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola--to demonstrate India's solidarity with the African people in their struggle against racism. As chairman of the non-aligned movement, he is making this trip to not only assure the people of these frontline States of India's commitment of the entire non-aligned community to back the South-West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in its fight for Namibian

independence. After the non-aligned Foreign Ministers conference in Delhi next month, India will take all possible steps to mobilise support to SWAPO and intensify the campaign for Namibian freedom before the next summit conference in Harare in August. The crusade against South African racism will be one of the central themes at this summit conference at which Mr Rajiv Gandhi will hand over the chairmanship of the non-aligned movement to the Prime Minister of Zimbabwe, Mr Robert Mugabe. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Mar 86 p 12] /9317

INVITATION FROM BULGARIANS--New Delhi, March 21--The Congress(I) has been invited to send a delegation to the Bulgarian Communist Party Congress opening in Sofia on April 2. Dr Yordan Yotov, member of the Politbureau of the Bulgarian Communist Party who gave this information to newsmen here, said this was the first time the Party had sent an invitation to the Congress(I), though it was not the first time a non-Communist Party had been invited. Dr Yotov who attended the Patna session of the CPI, said in reply to a question, that the Indian press had exaggerated the CPI criticism of the Government of India. He did not share the view that the CPI had totally rejected the domestic policy of the Government. "My definite impression is that the CPI does not reject the domestic policy of the Government of India as a whole, though there has been some critical remarks on specific issues." [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Mar 86 p 7] /9317

DANGE GREETES CPSU--Bombay, March 22 (PTI)--The cause of democratic revolution in India has received a major setback in the past decade because of the "unrealistic assessment and evaluation" of the Indian situation by a section of the Communist movement within the country as also the world communist movement, the general secretary of the All India Communist Party (AICP), S.A. Dange, said here. In his greetings to the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) on the occasion of its 27th Congress, Mr Dange said that, however, the AICP would continue its struggle for unifying the fragmented communist movement along with the democratic and patriotic forces with a view to strengthening India's national independence, unity and territorial integrity in the struggle for the vital interest of the working people of India. Mr Dange said the people of India and the "forward looking patriotic force of our country in particular, has reasons to be happy and highly encouraged for the special stress laid upon the further development of the Indo-Soviet relations." He said the AICP was confident that the CPSU Congress would generate a "new favourable atmosphere for widening the scope of ever greater and more significant victories of the working class and national liberation struggles and would contribute to hastening the pace of radical renewal of the world order," he added. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Mar 86 p 5] /9317

TRADE WITH EAST EUROPE--India has signed a long-term, three-year agreement with Czechoslovakia for import of 40,000 to 45,000 tonnes of urea, beginning from 1987. Under the agreement, the payment for the imported urea would be made under the current rupee trade arrangement between the two countries. Czechoslovakia will utilise the rupee funds generated by the sale of urea to India to buy a variety of products from India. Czechoslovakia is the

fourth East European country with which India has gone into long-term agreement for purchase of urea. The GDR, Bulgaria and Rumania are the other three countries with whom long-term urea import agreements have already been concluded. Besides this, India has also signed an agreement for import of 40,000-45,000 tonnes of urea during the current year from Czechoslovakia. The two agreements were concluded between the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation and Czech foreign trade company Petromex. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 22 Mar 86 p 2] /9317

USSR FESTIVAL AGREEMENT--New Delhi, March 19--India and the Soviet Union have agreed to hold reciprocal year-long cultural festivals in each other's country next year. According to an agreement signed on Tuesday by Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, Minister for Human Resource Development, and Mr P.N. Demitchev, Soviet Minister of Culture, the Festival of India in the Soviet Union will be held in June 1987 and the Festival of USSR in India in November 1987. Like the Festival of India in the U.S., the venues of the respective festivals would be all major cities in both countries. The scale of the Festival of India in the Soviet Union would be larger than the one now in the U.S. Apart from covering the fine arts, crafts, textiles, architecture, books and archival material, science and technology, performing arts, including classical and folk dances, classical music and film festivals, there will be circus performances, shows by famous Indian magicians and sports exchanges. Symposia and seminars involving scientists, artistes and literateurs have also been scheduled. The timing of the reciprocal India/USSR festivals next year will coincide with the 40th anniversary of Indian Independence and the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Mar 86 p 9] /9317

CSO: 4600/1599

BAKHTIAR ON COUNTRY'S FUTURE, OPPOSITION, FOREIGN CONTACTS

London KEYHAN in Persian 27 Mar 86 p 5

[London KEYHAN weekly in Persian; founder and publisher Dr Mesbahzadeh]

[Text] In a special interview with Hushang Vaziri, Dr Shapur Bakhtiar, leader of the National Resistance Movement of Iran talked about his recent negotiations with Reza Pahlavi, shah of Iran, the position of the National Resistance Movement versus other constitutional councils, the effects of negotiations of the leaders of the two superpowers and also about the current situation in Iran.

Bakhtiar always looks much younger than his actual age, however this time he seemed to be much younger than before. He enjoys the health of a youth. This is a fact which was proven by a recent close physical check-up. He was very satisfied with the result of his last check-up, however he feels very unhappy because he cannot go mountain-climbing, his favorite sport.

Before I started the tape-recorder, we talked about various issues for over an hour. His state of mind and his interest regarding all the political issues pertaining to Iran provide any companion with a valuable opportunity.

His power of persuasion is as strong as his mind's windows which are open to correct reasoning. In other words, his capacity for being convinced is no less than his power of persuasion.

He is not deluded by the onerous and burdensome responsibility which he has come to accept and similarly he does not leave an impression of delusion with the audience. Matter-of-factness or plainness of deed and words are but some of his true characteristics. He knows that these characteristics might not at times be quite favorable or propitious in the world of politics, but that is his choice.

Question: Dr Bakhtiar, you recently visited Reza Pahlavi, shah of Iran. Please tell us if there was any ambiguity or uncertainty principally in the mutual relations and whether this visit played a role in eliminating such ambiguities?

Answer: I hope that if there were any ambiguities at all, it pertained only to the duties of Reza Pahlavi within the framework of the constitution and his relation with the constitution or similar issues. During my visit with him, while we discussed toppling Khomeyni's regime, we also touched on other issues such as

the general situation in Iran, the war of the Islamic Republic and Iraq and so forth. As far as possible I tried to call Reza Pahlavi's attention to respecting the constitution. I believe that such respect and honor is an essential factor for all the constitutionalists, particularly for him as he is the heir to the throne and he has the task of preserving, controlling and executing the constitutional law--the very law according to which he claims to be the heir to the throne today.

Once more I reiterated my devotion and obligation to constitutional monarchy and said I never opposed such a regime and I don't think that I'll ever object to it.

In any case, this visit was beneficial and I hope that other similar visits will be possible in the future. As far as feasible I will be ready always to help him. Whenever he deems it necessary to consult with me about the pertinent issues of our country, as a devoted Iranian constitutionalist, I'll be ready to give him my sincere views.

Question: It seems as though there have been some minor changes in your stance as regards the constitutional councils. That is to say, last year in your speech, which was made on the occasion of the anniversary of the constitution in the Versailles Palace, you made no distinction between the various members of the constitutional councils. Although right now you have come to accept that there are some individuals who do not at all befit the rebukes or the reprimands which were accorded them in the speech.

Answer: I am opposed to those organization which attach themselves to the shah and try to win certain privileges for themselves which are not accorded to other similar organizations. As I said before, the monarchy ought to be far above any and all groups and organizations. Here, I don't intend to engage in a running battle. If such people, whether rightly or wrongly pretend that they have been selected or chosen by Reza shah, first I have to state that such a decision or action is quite contrary to the spirit of the constitution, second, such action is against the interests of the monarchy and third, such decisions are a confirmation of the criticism which is aimed at the monarchy by the opponents of such a regime.

As regards the fundamental issue of the said councils, there has been no basic changes in my position. However, concerning my speech in last year's constitution celebration, first, as far as I can recall, I talked about those shady characters who have found their way into these councils. Now let's suppose that all such individuals one way or another are connected to some well-known or powerful former families... yet it does not make any difference--since the very fact of the matter is contrary to the constitutional law. When something is quite contrary to the constitution, it does not matter at all who its members are.

If the constitutional councils want a political move to gather under the shah's protective umbrella and carry on their activities, this would be something quite contrary to the laws of the constitution and the very spirit of that movement.

Otherwise, if this is not the case and in reality they are all constitutionalists, it will not be something particular since we are all constitutionalists too. But if those people claim that the constitution is solely in their monopoly, that is something which is not correct and which can be harmful to the monarchy.

While I was in Los Angeles some of these gentlemen showed up at one meeting and we talked matters over for a few hours and I discovered that my thoughts and views concerning the constitutional monarchy and the shah's responsibility as regards the pertinent laws were properly confirmed by these gentlemen. One ought to propound an issue properly so as to receive the proper answers. The issue here is whether or not under the name of the shah and in a surreptitious manner some characters should be allowed to create another Rastakhiz party?

I think the person of the shah must keep away from such doings or goings-on. However, I don't want to drag this point any farther. Since you asked the question I propounded on the subject, otherwise I would not bring it up at all.

Question: Even the shah himself has stated that the constitutional councils must not attach themselves to the person of the monarch anymore. Don't you think that such a statement has solved the problem a great deal?

Answer: If those ladies and gentlemen paid attention to the aforementioned principle as stated by the shah and did not try to win themselves particular favor or position through the instrument of the constitutional monarchy, then they will be like any other groups and I'll have no major problem with that.

Question: Dr Bakhtiar, it is said that within the National Resistance Movement there is a republican wing which influences the policies of the movement. Do you confirm this statement?

Answer: This is a subject which has been discussed many times. The National Resistance Movement is not a party with an inflexible and rigid structure which can drive away those individuals who truly believe in independence and national sovereignty. These kinds of Iranians have the right to partake in the downfall of Khomeyni's regime and thereafter bring about a national and democratic government in Iran. We ought to remember that in the constitution, monarchy is an inheritance entrusted to the king by the people and this is something which has been confirmed by Reza Pahlavi on several occasions.

As far as I know, in the decision-making body of the National Resistance Movement, i.e., in the movement's council, the absolute majority consists of the true believers of constitutional monarchy. It is as a result of some unfounded rumors or allegations that there is a kind of uproar and we ought to know that the mischief-makers will never sit still. From the very first day I have told everyone that if there is going to be a public opinion poll, a constituents' assembly or any other body, we will only vote for a constitutional monarchy. However, the casting of ballots will be free and confidential. All the other people should be allowed to vote for whatever form of government they prefer.

For instance, some may choose to vote for a republican government. Notwithstanding, I'll try my best to convince others to follow the road which is in our best interests. However, no power should be allowed to deprive people of their rightful vote. People must not pay any attention to rumors either. There are a lot of rumors going around about me. For example, they say that Bakhtiar plays both ends against the middle or he runs with the hare and hunts with the hounds. That is truly unrealistic. What is the reason for my playing a double game. In those days when the monarchy was not very popular, I announced my devotion to a constitutional monarchy. Now, there is no reason to desist my former conviction.

Question: Mr Bakhtiar, let's suppose that Khomeyni is not around tomorrow. Unfortunately, it is expected that our country will become reinless or chaotic... In such a circumstance, is the National Resistance Movement ready to overcome this probable confusion or anarchy militarily?

Answer: I hope as I have promised before in a predictable future we will be quite ready for such a circumstance. However, let me point out that our solution in Iran is not merely military-related. It is the people of the country who will revolt and our military will be part of that total or general revolt. With due consideration to the international condition and the geopolitical situation of Iran, I do not presume that there is a chance for a successful military coup d'etat.

However, it is possible to bring about a condition so that after the absence of Khomeyni from the scene where the Iranian nation will be ready for an uprising. In such an uprising, the army--the security forces in general--will play an effective role. We never consider the army separate from the people. We believe that a national army is the one which has an inseparable, firm and multidimensional relation with the nation. Therefore, there is always the possibility of a general uprising which will enjoy the support of the armed forces. Here without being pretentious I would like to state that I'll be among the people of Iran on the day of the revolt.

Question: Recently, particularly in Turkey some military blows had been inflicted on the resistance movement. Have these blows tended to extremely weaken the National Resistance Movement? Furthermore, are these happenings connected to the extensive financial and economic agreements and relations between the Islamic Republic and Turkey?

Answer: The Islamic Republic and a few other governments are consistently engaged in terrorist activities outside their own borders. This is something which has become quite clear to everyone, even though it took several years for some nations to realize the fact. Since such terrorist-nurturing nations have an enormous amount of foreign exchange available to them, they can easily hire mercenaries and put the necessary equipment at their disposal. One of the countries which those terrorist-nurturing countries are using for the base of their activities is Turkey.



Although the blows which were inflicted on us were very painful, but they did by no means render us inoperative. Here I have to say that such blows cannot determine the fate of our movement. Besides, only those individuals who are active in the arena of struggle will receive blows, otherwise if we were not present in the arena of contention, we would have naturally not received any blows. The loss of such dear individuals as Moradi, Shahvardi and other strugglers is the reason for the existence of some activities which have created danger for Khomeyni's regime--in all the resistance movements of any period of many countries such incidents have taken place and will continue to happen in the future too.

Is it possible to engage in battle against Khomeyni's regime without loss of lives? Those individuals who claim that they have such extensive possibilities in Iran or that they have army units at their disposal or at their command and that so far they have not received any blows or endured no loss of lives, can only make these claims on paper. We know that there does not exist anything as an army unit at their command. To make the story short, the reason for the effectiveness of our activities is the terrorist reaction of the Islamic regime.

On the other hand, despite all the extensive relations between Turkey and Iran which you pointed out I don't think that the Turkish government has any involvement in terrorist activities. Since my political stance regarding noninterference of religion in the affairs of state which corresponds to the irrevocable and fundamental principle of the modern Turkish government which was founded by Ataturk. The present Turkish government, similarly is devoted to the doctrine of Mustafa Kamal Pasha, which prohibits the interference of religion in state affairs.

Question: Dr Bakhtiar, after Khomeyni took the reins of power, how many months were you in hiding before you started your political activities anew in Paris? Where were you during those few months, and what were you doing and how did you get out of Iran?

Answer: In my book "Yekrangi" [Candor or Sincerity] I've touched upon this subject a bit. Anyway, for a period of five and a half months after Khomeyni came to power I was in Tehran. I started my initial activity around the beginning of Farvardin 1358 [21 March - 20 April 1980], before the advent of the Islamic Republic, through the distribution of cassette tapes which I put at the disposal of REUTER and AFP. In those tapes I expressed my opposition to Khomeyni's regime in an announcement to the whole world. That action is quite a convincing answer to those individuals who were with Khomeyni from the very first day but for some reason later on turned away from him and also those people who say that Bakhtiar have been a cohort of Khomeyni at one time or another.

After five and a half months with a passport which was not Iranian I got on a plane and took off from Mehrabad airport to Paris. I bought first class ticket to make sure that I sat in a section where there were not too much goings and comings, besides I did not have an oriental-looking appearance either. All these circumstances helped me to get out of that perilous situation unharmed.

One week after my arrival in Paris, in front of ninety some representatives of the mass media, I expressed my axis of struggle for bringing about the downfall of Khomeyni's regime and the formation of a democratic government in its stead. If in Iran some people respect my opinion, it is all because of my consistency and tenacity to the principles which I value. Whether before the period when I became prime minister, during that period when I was prime minister, during the time I was in hiding or from the time I have been residing in Paris, I have always followed one single thought and that is democracy, pluralism, respect for the constitution, the rule of the people, sufficient generation of wealth and its just and even distribution.

Question: Apparently, many times you have rather seriously announced that the year in question Khomeyni's downfall will be due, however so far seven years have passed and none of those predictions have come true. As a result, many Iranians have become disappointed and feel let down. Do you think that the imminent downfall predictions on the one hand and the continuity of the regime on the other are the results of over-optimistic views of one's own power, underestimating the rival's true power, or are they the results of an unrealistic evaluation of the international circumstances or a combination of all of these factors?

Answer: I object to your statement in this regard. Please be sure to relay my exact words. In the last speeches which I made recently in the United States, while addressing the American audience I said that you, the western people, for four full years through your contacts, requests and opening of a way to reconciliations--even though while you had 52 hostages in captivity over there--tried to somehow reach an agreement with Khomeyni's regime. You assisted Khomeyni's regime, even Israel assisted that regime! Furthermore, France also does not seem to be reluctant to help, neither does England which still continues its assistance. Likewise, the Germans, the Japanese and the Italians are all helping that government. Thus, with a view to all the aforesaid circumstances how do you expect that Khomeyni's regime to be toppled? He sells petroleum and earn enough foreign exchange to buy anything he wants! After four years they have come to realize the true nature of Khomeyni's regime, the way I used to describe it.

When I used to say that no government can with any logic, rule or standard enter into reliable negotiations with this man at all, no one ever listened to what I said! The same way that unfortunately the Iranian people did not lend a listening ear at the beginning of the revolution.

I'm only one of the 40 million Iranians. I carry out my duties and obligations towards my countrymen and my country with a calm but assured conscience. I have always done so. The fact is that others have a share in this matter and they ought to help us.

Anyway, except for last year when I stated that it would be the year for the downfall of Khomeyni, I've never otherwise tried to give vain hope to the people.

If you think I have said something different than that, I would like you to bring it to my attention. Of course I have said that if foreign countries did not continuously help Khomeyni, he could not last more than six months. Notwithstanding, it was necessary that the true nature of Khomeyni's regime become clear for every one and even the governments of the United States, France, England and the USSR understand who Khomeyni really is and what the true nature of his regime is. This was something which needed time.

Many of the individuals who now claim to be adamant enemies of Khomeyni, used to obstruct our actions and through their informers and spies they used to keep Khomeyni's regime informed of our activities. As a result many of our friends were arrested and executed. No one can forget the 9th of July.

Now, let's go back to my initial objection: I have always said that I hoped we would be able to topple the regime by such and such a date. Being hopeful is completely different from making promises. But let me assure you that I diligently follow this pursuit and fortunately the Iranian people have not despaired at all. Their resistance towards the regime, which manifest itself in various forms, attests to the reality of the fact.

It is clear that an individual cannot carry all the burden. I will do what I can. Thus, in this way if no one owes me anything, I in turn do not owe anyone a thing. My very life and existence revolves around this matter--the establishment or installation of a government in which the people enjoy complete freedom and respect. I will continue to the end. I will never stop midway.

I've never said that by a certain date we would kick out Khomeyni. What I have said is that we are busy bringing about the downfall of his regime. I have said that we are going to expand our activities. I have said that on a certain date a certain demonstration will take place and as you know I have carried through my promises.

For instance, let's take the last 17th of May. Upon my invitation under such suppressive circumstances hundreds of thousands of people came out to protest the regime. What do you think it was all about? It was all to show the rest of the world that the Iranian people are not satisfied with the regime. And the world came to know the fact. This is something which has transformed us into a probing and vital opposition which has not reached its due conclusion yet. One of the reasons is that a certain group of individuals who are living abroad are constantly creating obstruction and difficulties for us. Such people have nothing else to do. They know that they have not had a brilliant past with a trustworthy name and reputation and thus they constantly try to do mischief. Even some of these individuals hide themselves under the cover of royalists, while in reality they are undisputed agents of Khomeyni's regime. They have sold themselves to Khomeyni as prostitutes.

I do not want to soil your pen with the name of these individuals. But let me assure you that such individuals also are among some of the journalists. I can

give you more information in this regard off the record. One can study and investigate their writings and find out how in the guise of royalists they are helping Khomeyni's regime. I have come to know these individuals quite well.

Some of the aforementioned individuals are well-off. Although they have not been able to achieve something abroad, they have been able to bring a lot of money with them from Iran and are leading a fairly comfortable life. They do not help our cause in any way, except one of two of them who at the beginning helped us a bit.

The fact that many individuals in our movement, in order to reach their goal lose their lives, is another reason which shows that we have not become tired in our endeavor and that we are still continuing toward our objective. Nevertheless, I do not intend to monopolize the leadership of the struggle. I am ready to accept what is in the interest of our people. However, I will not approve people who do nothing except create obstacles.

Question: What is your opinion about the international situation? Do you believe that in comparison to a few years ago there has been substantial and more favorable changes or not?

Answer: Certainly, and there are two reasons for that. First and foremost because of all the cruel and ruthless actions of Khomeyni in Iran, which became ever more evident with the passage of time. Second, the present regime does not have the capability to run the country in a normal manner. On the one hand, the people are unsatisfied and they are on the verge of revolt, and on the other there exists a kind of government which does not have the competency to run affairs. As a result no other government looks at this regime as an established or stable government.

What happened in the Philippines provides some lessons for us. When all the people unanimously express their lack of forbearance for a regime, then nothing can be done. Of course, time was necessary for the Philippines' situation to reach the point of explosion. A few years ago there were very few people who knew what was really going on in the Philippines. With the passage of time the fact became evident. I believe that the West as well as the East has become aware of the true nature of Khomeyni's regime. Both the Soviet Union and the United States are in agreement in bringing an end to the war, while on the other hand we well know that Khomeyni's very existence and life depends on the continuation of the war according to the same reasons which you have mentioned in your analysis.

Here I have to say that the international atmosphere has changed, however, we must not consider this change as a replacement for our own activities. The rest of the world will not resort to military means to get us our freedom. It is not expected of them either. Deliverance from Khomeyni's regime is something which has to be achieved by ourselves. With all the means which we have at our disposal and all the possibilities which we will attain in the future, we will push

ahead with our struggle and bring it to fruition, no matter how difficult and formidable it seems.

Question: You mentioned the Philippines. In that country a foreign superpower dominated the political scene, particularly the military scene. Do you think that such domination over the military and political scenes of Iran exists at all?

Answer: I mentioned the Philippines for the purpose of showing the destructive process of a tyrannical or dictatorial rule; otherwise, I hope we will never witness the domination of a foreign government over our government. While I was in the United States I told my audience that our best and dearest foreign governments are those who do not interfere in our internal affairs.

It is the only way that we will respect and endear such governments and in time of necessity consider consulting with them if and whenever we deem it appropriate. This is no longer submission but it is a kind of cooperation and friendship.

Question: Could you tell us whom you met and held negotiations with in the United States?

Answer: I was invited to go to Los Angeles by the Foreign Relations Council which has economic, cultural and political members. From there I went to Washington to visit some of my family members. During this interval we had political meetings also. Personally, I wouldn't mind mentioning the names of those individuals with whom I met. However, since those individuals themselves may not wish to have their names mentioned, therefore I desist from further explanation.

Here I must say that my visit was quite beneficial and fruitful. As regards the resultant danger from the continuation of Khomeyni's regime, the hazards of continuing the war and other important issues, my views and those of others with whom I held meetings were very close.

Anyway, I did not travel such a long distance merely to see what the second and third-rank authorities have to say or attach myself to the White House and ask: Please, come save my country! This is beneath the dignity of freedom-loving people, myself included.

They are well aware of the fact that the roots of international terrorism have become so widespread in Iran--particularly, in cooperation with two or three other governments such as Libya and others. On the whole, our discussion focused their attention more on those issues which I continually tend to emphasize.

Question: Did you have a feeling that the summit of the two superpowers in Geneva will have any effect at all on what is happening in Iran?

Answer: Certainly. This is definite. The Iranian issue was discussed in that meeting, as was Afghanistan. There was unanimity of views on the fact that Khomeyni's regime is an untoward or arrant regime.

Question: ...Untoward or arrant in which way?

Answer: In that it does not have any chance of survival and that it is not reliable either. Furthermore, for one specific reason for the United States and for another reason for the Soviet Union this regime is not acceptable. For instance, the United States is pessimistic about the terrorist activities of Khomeyni's regime while the Soviet Union cannot accept the export of Islamic Republic religion to its Muslim republics. The fact that both the United States and the Soviet Union have unanimously voted for an end to the war is a clear indication of the two governments' agreement that this regime is not going to be acceptable since by now the whole world knows that the continuation of the war is the only way for the survival of Khomeyni's regime.

And as regards the government which is going to rule in Iran after the demise of Khomeyni, each of the two superpowers is trying to gain a larger share as far as possible. It is here that someone or some firmly established group has to say that we are friendly with all the other nations provided they do not interfere in our internal affairs and that we will not be anybody's obedient or submissive agents.

If the two superpowers gain sufficient assurance that on the one hand Iran will not hide itself behind an iron curtain and on the other it will not become a center for anti-Soviet activities then they will know that a major step has been taken. And within the framework of our national sovereignty we have to realize those conditions.

Question: Recently, there has been some talk about the possibility of new opposition in Iran. Taking into consideration the various views, this opposition encompasses a wide spectrum--from the opposition groups outside Iran to those within the government of Iran--what chance of survival will this opposition have?

Answer: There is no doubt that we have to penetrate every and all the domestic organs in Iran. Not only should we try to buy off some people within the system, but we have to try to convince as many as we can. Likewise, we have to assure others of their safety and unbridled criticism or vengeance--not even disrespect--when they turn their back on the present government.

In many of my speeches and messages I've reiterated that those individuals who have not sullied or tainted their hands have nothing to fear. Of course, there are certain individuals who have fouled and soiled their hands by assisting the regime and within the framework of the law they must be punished accordingly, exactly like the evildoers of the Nazi regime in Germany. However, this did not mean that in Germany the commander of a certain army unit should have also been hanged because he had done his soldierly duties.

In the performance of their religious tasks the clerics must enjoy freedom and respect. However, those individuals who have committed murders or have issued orders to execute the alleged convicts without a trial should be answerable for

their acts, not to you or me, but to a lawful court in which the place of the prosecutor, the accused and the defending lawyer is quite clear.

If I happen to be in charge of some office, one reliable assurance is my very past, my very life. I've always tried to make sure that there is harmony and conformity between my deeds and words. If there was a way to assure the permanency of democracy through fancy words and phraseology--especially in Paris's Champs Elysees--then there would have been many first-rate democrats throughout the world as well.

At any rate, the known terrorists who have never ceased their fascist acts and are still continuing them, and who now claim to be democrats ought to answer this question as to whether we should believe their past action or their present words!

Similarly, we have to stop and ask those individuals who under the name of Islam have defiled Islam's reputation throughout the world: From which Islamic doctrine does all this murder and carnage come?

To make a long story short, under the name of no ideology or idealism should we deprive the people of their freedom as reflected in the constitution or in the Declaration of Human Rights.

Dr Bakhtiar, we thank you for this opportunity and the time which you provided for the interview.

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END